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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

UNIVERSITY

OF

Edinburgh;

CHIEFLY

COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND RECORDS,

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

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BY

ALEXANDER BOWER,

AUTHOR OF THE LIFE OF LUTHER.

VOL. I.



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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHARLES HOPE OF GRANTON,

LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COURT OF SESSION,

THIS

HISTORY

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

IN TESTIMONY OF REAL ESTEEM

FOR HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE VIRTUES,

AND

GRATITUDE FOR HIS PATRONAGE OF THE WORK,

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S MOST OBEDIENT AND

OBLIGED HUMBLE SERVANT,

ALEXANDER BOWER.

EDINBURGH, 10th February 1817.

PREFACE.

The origin and early history of Universities, which have contributed so essentially to the diffusion of knowledge among the inhabitants of Europe, are involved in considerable obscurity.

The history of these institutions is, however, so intimately connected with the progress of the human mind, in its successive advances from the torpor and gloom of the darker ages, to the moral activity and brilliancy of the present era, that it becomes an interesting inquiry to trace any one of them from its commencement, and to notice its gradual accessions of science and general improvement.

In this point of view, therefore, independently of the excitement from every powerful local association of curiosity or attachment, the au-

thor trusts that he will render an acceptable service to the lovers of literature, as well as to the friends of the particular institution, while he attempts to give an account of the origin and progress of the University of Edinburgh.

The question respecting the expediency of literary establishments enjoying the patronage of the state, or possessing peculiar privileges, has been the subject of considerable discussion, especially since the publication of *the Wealth of Nations*. It will be seen, from the following narrative, that the University of Edinburgh is in a great degree not liable to the objections urged by Dr Smith. Its funds are extremely scanty. The sole means, therefore, by which its Professors can increase their revenue, is the diligence with which they perform the duties of their office.

The Honourable Patrons of the University of Edinburgh have great merit in bringing it to its present state of prosperity. The charter granted by JAMES VI. entrusted the infant establishment to their fostering care, without

providing funds to defray the unavoidable expence attending such an institution. The Patrons have, from the foundation, supplied, or exerted themselves to procure, what was required; and, under their liberal, judicious, and public spirited management, the prosperity of this great seminary has uniformly been increasing.

The Author of the following history has no hesitation in declaring, that, ever since he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the elements of sound learning, he formed a peculiar attachment to literary history, more especially the history of the literature of his native country.

The first effort which he attempted in this way was a sketch of the literature of Scotland, during the course of the last century. This he studied to incorporate in the account which he gave of his old patron, the late Dr Beattie. Since that period, he has also published an account of the state of Scotland during the course of the seventeenth century.

When engaged in writing the life of LUTHER, the author was led to the investigation of many minute facts respecting the revival of letters in Europe, which had not occurred to him before. The mode of academical instruction,—the economy and internal regulations of one of those very singular institutions, of which LUTHER, as professor of divinity at Wittemberg, was a member, naturally attracted his attention. Having had access to all the great libraries of London, where his work was composed, he felt, from the notes which he had taken, a strong impulse to arrange the great quantity of miscellaneous literary history he had collected. And, upon his return to Scotland, having been engaged in the library of the University of Edinburgh, the idea presented itself of composing a history of that seminary, where he himself had been educated, and had spent the most agreeable part of his life.

The University records, particularly such as regard its early history, contain very curious and interesting documents. Those which ap

peared to be worthy of insertion have been copied by the author.

He owes it to the attention and liberality of the very Reverend Principal BAIRD, and of Dr ANDREW DUNCAN, junior, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence, and Secretary of the *Senatus Academicus*, that he has been allowed the most ample use of these valuable papers. And he also takes this opportunity of stating his obligations to Dr MONRO, junior, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, for the perusal of a manuscript, containing some important facts respecting the medical school, not to be found elsewhere.

He has likewise been much indebted to the attention of several of the Professors, not only for the interest they kindly expressed in the success of his work; but for much valuable information, and many useful hints, received from them.

The source, however, from which the author has derived by far the greatest part of the materials from which the history has been com-

piled, is the Register of the Honourable the Town-council of Edinburgh, to which he was readily granted the most unqualified and liberal access. The reader will perceive that the author has made great use of this indulgence; without which, indeed, he could not have proceeded in his work, as that *Register* contains the only accurate account of the history of the University that is to be found.

Besides what has been obtained from these channels, the author has, in the course of a long and sedulous inquiry, gleaned many particulars, especially of the biographical notices contained in the work, from a variety of avenues of information. But he wishes the merits of the history to be estimated by the value which it may be found really to possess, and not by the labour he has bestowed in collecting the facts which it contains.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of Universities—Persian Magi, and Priests of Egypt—Grecian Schools—Roman Schools—Schools in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries—Palatine School—University of Paris—Scotish Universities—Of the word Universitas—Collegium.

The education of youth has engaged the attention of all civilized nations, though they have resorted to different methods to accomplish that end. The progress of knowledge in rude and barbarous societies is so limited, that we cannot expect to find among them any desire to cherish or to establish institutions for improving the faculties of the hu-

man mind. To procure food, and to be expert in all the arts which are indispensibly necessary, in order to furnish the few conveniencies which they require or can obtain, seem to be the summit of their ambition; and they have neither time nor inclination to proceed any farther. As society advances, however, and the art of government is improved, the facility with which access may be had to institutions where the elements of knowledge are taught, is wonderfully increased; and ought not to be considered so much an effect, as a cause, of the progress of civilization.

A society in which the art of writing is totally unknown, must be admitted to be in the lowest state of degradation; and to suppose the existence of schools of any kind among such barbarians, would be in the highest degree absurd. But wherever that art exists, in how imperfect soever a manner it may be practised, it is obvious that the necessary business of the community would be materially interrupted, were it to be the employment of every father or master to teach his family, and not appropriated, like other professions, to a certain class of persons in the state, who were either engaged in no other occupation, or in one which did not interfere in a great degree with what was considered principally to demand their attention. If such arrangements were not made, the transmission of an art so truly useful, would be nearly impracticable; and thus it would be impossible to prevent a commonwealth,

such as we have supposed, from returning to its primitive rudeness and barbarism. In almost all nations, the teaching of youth has been generally considered as the peculiar province of the ministers of religion.

But even in civilized nations, where the arts and sciences have arrived at great perfection,—where every thing which can embellish life, or render man more comfortable in society,—where the most abstruse sciences have been long cultivated successfully,—where the theories of speculative men, or their discordant opinions, have been subjected to the most rigorous examination, and the faculties of man have thus been improved,—in the distribution of the different functions which different individuals must perform, as composing a part of the complicated machine of civil society, the same order of men have, in by far the greater number of instances, been considered as the natural instructors of their fellow citizens, and the most proper persons with whom the stock of knowledge of the community ought to be deposited. This has been universally the case among those nations whose religious rites had ever assumed the regularity of a settled system. The most remarkable instances which antiquity affords of the truth of this observation, are to be found among the Persian Magi, and the Priests of Egypt. These were, undoubtedly, not only similar institutions, but bore a most remarkable resemblance to each other, both as it respected their influence in

the state, and the compact manner in which they were also associated as a body. They were recognized by the state in their sacerdotal character; and were left to retain or to communicate their knowledge, as they judged proper. Many injurious consequences flowed from the mystery in which they chose to involve their doctrines; but it is much to be doubted whether, under the forms of government under which they lived, and the consequent state of society, the mathematical and physical sciences would have been so ardently and successfully prosecuted by them, or whether any vestiges of their eminent skill in both would have so long remained to enlighten the world, had not an uncommon degree of emulation been excited and kept up among their own body, to distinguish themselves by the superiority of their acquirements. Their literature and science were merely accidental circumstances, for they derived no advantages from the state by the possession of either. Their immunities were in consequence of their sacred character; for, as philosophers, they were not patronized by the state.*

No institution, in any respect resembling these, is to be discovered among the Greeks or Romans. They never seem to have attempted to reduce their religion to a system. Their kalendar of gods was open to the deities of all nations: and this indefinite

* Xenophon's account of the education of the Persians appears to be a mere romance.

nature superseded its necessity. There were, therefore, no peculiar classes of men whose profession it was to instruct the people in the principles of their religion. They seem rather to have been instruments in the hands of their rulers, to guide the opinions and passions of the populace, in order to accomplish their own ends.

Philosophy was equally left without the aid of a pecuniary remuneration from the state; and, perhaps, the success which accompanied its progress, may be chiefly ascribed to this, as to its cause. The most powerful stimulus towards the acquisition of knowledge, is a love of it for its own sake. This communicates an ardour in the pursuit of it, which no indulgence from others can possibly produce. It was this passion that impelled Thales, Pythagoras, Aristippus, Plato, Democritus, and many others, to undertake such long journies, and suffer so many hardships. They could not obtain satisfactory information at home; and, as they excelled all their contemporaries in their own country in philosophical acquirements, so they bestowed greater pains and labour in becoming acquainted with the science of foreign nations. They all repaired to Egypt; and seem to have considered it as the principal site where learning and the sciences had taken up their abode. It was from Egypt that they derived all their knowledge of physics; which, indeed, they severally modified afterwards, according to their own fancy. But, whatever physical theories they in-

vented, or whatever superstructure they might erect, were reared upon the same foundation. It was in Egypt also that their taste for the mathematics was formed; where Thales, Pythagoras, and Plato, were instructed in this the noblest of all sciences; and whence they caught such a predilection for that elegant geometrical method which distinguishes the works of the Greek mathematicians, and led them to so many sublime discoveries in pure geometry.

As their residence in foreign countries was solely at their own expence, the greater number returned very poor. For example, Democritus, one of the greatest philosophers of antiquity, though originally possessed of a considerable fortune, spent his whole property in quest of knowledge, and was afterwards supported by his brother. They therefore felt themselves under the necessity of communicating to their countrymen some portion of the stores which they had amassed; or, in other words, they were compelled to open seminaries of instruction, in order to procure a comfortable subsistence for themselves. This resolution, however, it must be observed, does not appear to have been patronized by the state, any further than that they were allowed to teach publicly. The fees they required from those who attended their prelections, seem to have been all they received. It has indeed been suggested,* that PROBABLY Plato received a gift of the

* Wealth of Nations, vol. iii.

Academy, and Aristotle of the Lyceum, from the state; but there is no allusion to this in any ancient writer. We know, for certain, that Æschines, the disciple of Socrates, taught for money.* The probability is, that the others did the same.

Seminaries of learning, upon so extensive a scale as those of Plato, Aristotle, or Epicurus, never seem to have existed at Rome. The Roman youth, whose circumstances could afford it, were sent to Greece to prosecute their studies. The bustle of war, and various other causes, prevented the cultivation of philosophy. The philosophical doctrines, so beautifully illustrated by Cicero in his various works, are confessedly derived from the Greeks; and, what must appear very singular, he assumes a considerable degree of merit to himself, on account of communicating to his countrymen, in their vernacular language, the doctrines of the Grecian philosophers. The Latin tongue appears to have been, in his time, principally, if not solely, employed by the poets, or in transacting the ordinary business of life, whilst the Greek was the language of philosophy.

The only branch of philosophy (for such it may certainly be called) in which the Romans excelled the Greeks, was in reducing their laws into a regular code of jurisprudence, which never seems to have occurred to any of the Greek philosophers or lawyers, though they speculated at great length upon the

* Brucker, Instit. Hist. Philos. p. 119.

philosophy of legislation. The reason seems to be this: Their courts of justice were composed of so many members, that a system of statute law could have been of little or no use; and, besides the rivalship and dissension which prevailed among all the different states, and the desultory and unsettled warfare which they carried on, withdrew their attention from what could not have been dispensed with in a nation, inhabiting a more extensive territory, and whose private and public business were more complicated.

The manner, however, in which the youth were trained to a knowledge of the Roman law in the earliest and best ages of the republic, indeed until the liberties of Rome were lost, appears to have been pretty similar to the method adopted by the Greek philosophers. They were not encouraged by the state; neither were they prevented from admitting to their society and conversation, such young men of promising talents as they deemed proper. There were no schools or colleges instituted for the express purpose of teaching the Roman law. It seems to have been esteemed as the best mode of discipline for young men, who applied to the study of jurisprudence, to witness and to make themselves familiar with the mode of practice, and the judgments given by the most eminent lawyers. The laws enacted by the *Comitia* were their statute law; but the more complicated cases which occurred in the profession were determined by the *decisions* of those eminent

practitioners; and, in course of time, these were respected as much as the laws themselves. Under the emperors, however, when luxury had become more common, schools were opened for teaching law; but still those were private; and their reputation did not depend in the smallest degree upon any authoritative interposition of the state, but upon their own exertions.

The only ancient instance, as far as I know, of any seminary of learning being encouraged out of the public purse, was the school of Alexandria, whose teachers had a salary from the emperors, which was afterwards withdrawn.

During the latter ages of the Roman greatness, the study of philosophy seems to have been nearly extinguished; but schools were still kept open, where oratory, or the art of declamation, was professedly taught. But whatever opinion may be entertained of their mode of teaching, of the subjects taught, or of the qualifications of the teachers, there can be no doubt that every one of them was the enterprize of an individual; and that there was no incorporated body, established by law, that possessed any exclusive privileges, similar to what has taken place in modern times.

It is impossible to trace with accuracy the history of the various institutions which existed immediately after the overthrow of Roman greatness. About the end of the sixth century, the Latin language ceased to be spoken at Rome; and, about the middle of that

which succeeded, it was expressly enjoined by the Pope, that the service of the church should throughout the Christian world be performed in that tongue alone. This mandate was speedily obeyed; and, at a period not very distant from the time of its publication, mass was said in Latin in the church of St Sophia at Constantinople, the emperor being present. These two facts, when taken together, clearly prove, that teaching what might have been now called the sacred language, was a profession indispensibly necessary, at least for the education of churchmen. How cruel soever this might be, as it regarded the great body of the people, it certainly produced this good effect, that it prevented this noble language from going into total desuetude, or the avenues to a knowledge of it from being for ever closed.

The seventh and part of the eighth century, must be viewed as the darkest era in the history of European literature. Pope Gregory employed the whole of his great authority in banishing from his court every thing which had the appearance of literature; and burned all the profane books in the Palatine library, that they might be compelled to study the Scripture. This, however, is an indirect proof, that a taste for sound learning had not been altogether extinguished at that time; though it was found necessary to ordain that no one should be admitted to holy orders, who could not read the psalter and the service of baptism in Latin. This smatter-

ing of knowledge they could acquire nowhere else but at the private schools, which were generally kept by monks in their cloisters, with whom, indeed, any remnant of ancient literature was to be found.

It ought not to be omitted, in addition to what has been mentioned in regard to the preservation of the Latin language in Europe, that the laws were promulgated in it. The ecclesiastics, however, generally engrossed the profession of the law; and the knowledge which the more expert and ambitious had of it, fitted them for the discharge either of clerical or civil functions.

After a long and dreary night of the grossest darkness, and after much blood and treasure had been spent, and the utmost confusion had prevailed throughout the European states, some prospect of an amelioration appeared, both as it regarded public tranquillity, and the encouragement to be given to the cultivation of literature. Charles the Great ascended the throne of his father Pepin, towards the end of the eighth century; and, by his own enterprizing achievements, and the success which accompanied them, became by far the most powerful monarch in Europe. Though his education had been greatly neglected, yet, naturally possessed of the most extraordinary talents, he perceived the value of learning; and was not ashamed to submit to be instructed himself, after he was thirty years of age, *in the art of grammar*. Fortunately for the age in which he lived, and for succeeding ages, he formed the highest

opinion of the talents and acquirements of the celebrated Alcuinus, whom some represent to have been a native of Yorkshire, whilst others as pertinaciously contend that he was a Scotsman,—esteeming it a national honour to enrol the name of so distinguished a character among those who have thrown lustre upon the country which gave them birth. That he was a native of the island of Great Britain can admit of no doubt. It was at the recommendation of this person that Charles established a school in his own palace, hence called the *Palatine School,* which was under his patronage, and supported by himself alone. This is the first well authenticated instance of any European seminary being patronized by a powerful monarch, whose teachers derived their sole emoluments from his bounty.

The emperor not only cherished this institution by liberal largesses, but he added the powerful influence of his own example. He had studied grammar under Peter of Pisa; and notwithstanding the multiplicity of his avocations, and the interruptions to which he was compelled to submit, in ruling over so vast an empire, he zealously prosecuted the study of rhetoric, logic, and the other liberal arts, under Alcuinus. This communicated new energy to Europe, and gave a different direction to the ambition of generous minds, who wished to cultivate the favour of so magnanimous a prince.

As the University of Paris traces its origin to this Palatinate School, and as that of Paris is unquestion-

ably the oldest of the kind in Europe, whose example all other European universities have more or less imitated, especially those of Scotland, it may not be improper to notice very briefly a few facts in its history.

Alcuinus was constituted the head or president of the seminary. The course of instruction commenced with that of grammar; and this was chiefly with a view to enable the students to understand the Scripture better, and to be able to transcribe it more correctly. They studied music; but it was principally church music. Their attention was next directed to rhetoric and logic, in order that they might be able to enter with more spirit into the writings of the fathers, and refute the doctrines advanced by heretics. Thus it is evident, that every arrangement in the school was designed to be introductory to the knowledge of religion. This is the account which Alcuinus himself gives *in his works.* He is represented by his admirers as having been a prodigy of learning, as an excellent Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar. Now it is well known that, under the head *grammar,* the two former languages were included, or what in our Scotish colleges is called *Literæ Humaniores,* though this is more commonly applied to the Latin alone. There is no mention made of Hebrew being taught; though it is probable he was acquainted with that language, as he attempted a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures in rhyme, some fragments of which have been transmitted to our

times. His taste, however, could not be very correct, when he banished Cicero and Virgil from his seminary, in order to give place to the works of Jerome and Augustine. His proficiency in the mathematical and philosophical sciences is also the subject of commendation. Considering the age in which he lived, this may be true; but there is reason for suspecting that his admirers have been too encomiastic in their praises of this eminent man. The generosity and enlarged views of Charles were so extensive, that this school was not appropriated to the use of the sons of the nobility alone; but the children of the meanest rank, provided they discovered genius, had free access to it. Whether it was stationary, or followed the court, is uncertain. Among the successors of Alcuin, are to be reckoned the celebrated Raban and John Scot Erigene. Thus, the Parisian school, commencing with very small beginnings, gradually acquired strength, until it became the most celebrated seminary in the world, and served as a pattern, which all the others more or less followed. It must be confessed, however, that the improvements suggested by other similar institutions, afforded hints which essentially contributed to render its own original plan more perfect.

It has been already observed, that the universities on the Continent were the prototypes which were most strictly copied by all the Scotish Universities. This was, however, more particularly the case with those which were established anterior to that of Edin-

burgh. Before the reformation of religion, the connexion with France and the people of Scotland had been exceedingly close. It was in this way alone that they could maintain their independence, and effectually resist the encroachments and hostilities of the English. The protection which the Scots received from this quarter, had a natural tendency to cement the two nations; and, from the superior progress which the French had made in civilization, in the arts, literature, and the sciences, it was almost impossible to avoid imitation; and, besides, the founders of the other three universities had received the benefit of being educated in France. The reasons which produced a different arrangement in the College of Edinburgh, shall be explained afterwards.

The origin of the application of the word *Universitas*, or *University*, to a seminary of learning, has given rise to a variety of opinions. The ancient name was *Studium Generale*, evidently referring to the great variety of subjects upon which instruction was communicated. In very small schools, the youth are taught only one, or at most a very few branches of learning. The scale upon which others are carried on is more extensive; but in a *university* it is understood that the whole circle of the sciences are taught; or, at least, that an opportunity is afforded to any who is disposed to comply with the regulations of the society, to be made acquainted with all the different departments of literature and science.

The word *universitas*, it has been, on the other hand, affirmed, originally signified a *company*, or a *society*. It is used by Cicero, but in an acceptation which has not the least allusion to a *company*. By *universitas rerum*, it is evident he means the *universe*; and, in the barbarous Latin of the middle ages, the conceit of applying such an epithet to a seminary upon the largest scale, might to them appear not unnatural.* The idea of a corporation that possessed special or exclusive privileges, never seems to have occurred when the appellation was first employed.

Collegium, or *College*, is also frequently employed to designate a seminary of learning, or indeed an association or corporation of any kind. All the literary foundations in Europe were in some manner or another connected with the education of ecclesiastics, and if not endowed by, were under their superintendance. Now, as an association of *regulars*, that is, of monastics, who lived under a certain rule, such as that of Augustin, Francis, or Dominic, were said to live in a *convent*, so, to a similar association of *seculars*, who were attached to no particular fraternity of the Romish Church, the name of *college* was applied, the head of which was styled *provost*. Thus, in England, the heads or presidents of Trinity College, Cambridge, and of Eton College, are so named. The same was formerly the case with re-

* Du Cange. Spelman.

gard to Trinity College, Edinburgh, which was founded by Mary, widow of King James II. There were no fewer than twenty-six colleges of this kind in Scotland before the reformation; besides, the chief church in large towns was a *collegiate* church, though not the seat of a bishopric. In short, the word *college*, as it relates to *university*, signifies the different bodies which compose it, or which are under its protection. Thus, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge are severally composed of a great number of separate colleges; but they constitute only two *universities*,—forming two great corporations: and, in our own country, the two colleges at Aberdeen form only one university, though not linked so closely as to deserve that name in so strict a sense as those in England. Many other incorporated bodies have adopted the name of *college*, though, as a society, they have no connexion whatever either with any monastic institution or university. Thus, the Pope and his seventy-two Cardinals constitute what is called the Sacred College: and, in our own country, we have the College of Justice, and the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons.

CHAPTER II.

The Students divided into Nations—Of the Faculty of Arts—The Latin Language—The Greek Language—The Hebrew—Rhetoric—Logic—Mathematics—Of the Faculty of Theology—The Canon Law—Of the Faculty of Law—The Civil Law—Of the Faculty of Medicine—Of the Origin of Degrees—Bachelor of Arts—Master of Arts—Doctor.

When we direct our attention to the various regulations in almost all the European universities, the first thing which naturally attracts our attention is, that the *scholares*, or students, were divided into what was technically called NATIONS. The origin of this arrangement is involved in considerable obscurity. It is obvious that, in the registers of the names of students, it is absolutely necessary that proper designations should be affixed to their names, to prevent confusion. When universities were few, and great multitudes resorted to them, it cannot admit of a doubt that this was indispensible. There was another reason, however, which at least rendered some similar arrangement highly expedient. The majority

of those who repaired to Paris, Padua, Bologna, &c. were foreigners; and, in short, constituted a group collected from all the civilized nations of the world. As the students universally constituted a part of the corporate body, and had a voice in the election of office-bearers, it was impossible to prevent feuds and rivalships from being introduced, by causes which implied either real or supposed grievances. It was of the utmost importance (and indeed the prosperity of the university was involved in it), to keep the students in good humour. In a foreign country, those who speak the same language, or are of the same religion, of similar habits, and subjects of the same government, naturally associate together, and, in almost all cases, enter into the views of one another, and form combinations, which the most strict vigilance cannot prevent. Something akin to this, besides the propriety of the thing, seems to have given rise to this artificial distinction, and to their being recognized as separate and independent bodies, entitled to interfere in transacting the business of the university.

The number of *nations* in different universities has been various. Thus, in Padua, so famous for its medical school for so long a period, there were seven nations. 1. The Tuscan. 2. Transalpine. 3. Ultramarine. 4. Lombard. 5. Marchia Tarvisina. 6. Roman. 7. Marchia Anconitana. This example, however, was seldom copied; and the most common number was four. The university of Paris consisted,

1. Of the French *nation*. 2. Of that of Picardy. 3. Of that of Normandy; and, 4. Of the German or English *nation*. All the Scotish universities have adhered to the same number, that of Edinburgh excepted, which recognizes no such distinction; because its economy, which shall be afterwards particularly explained, is completely different from that of any similar institution, either at home or abroad. Thus, St Andrews is divided into,—1. Fifans. 2. Angusians. 3. Lothians; and, 4. Albans. The latter comprehends all who do not belong to any of the other three. Glasgow into,—1. Clydesdale. 2. Tiviotdale. 3. Albany; and, 4. Rothesay. King's College, Aberdeen, into,—1. Marr. 2. Murray. 3. Angus. 4. Lothian. Marischal College the same, excepting that, instead of Angus, Buchan is substituted. This is borrowed from the university of Paris. And in King's College, for example, the founder, Bishop Elphingstone, has expressly conferred the same privileges upon the *nations* as they enjoyed at Paris, &c. These were very ample. They constituted the faculty of arts; and each had a suffrage in the general transactions of the university. They had a voice through their representative, or, as he was called, head, or procurator, in the election of all the office-bearers. The rector, syndic, procurator, and bedle, were elected by them; and no part of the funds could be appropriated to any purpose whatsoever, without their sanction. Their votes were required, in Padua, before any doctor could,

according to the statutes of the university, read lectures upon any subject. In short, the greater number of the seminaries on the Continent seem to have been formed after the model of a pure republic, of which the professors and office-bearers were the executive. Though, in the original establishment of the earliest of the universities in Scotland, it was intended that this example should be in a great measure imitated, it was never fully carried into effect. At present, little more of the franchise of the *Nations* is known but the name, excepting in the university of Glasgow, where a fragment of it is still retained in the election of a rector. Of the two extremes, the best undoubtedly is, where the police or economy of the university is vested in its public functionaries or teachers, if they are supported principally by the fees or honoraries of the students. But if they are altogether independent, it is almost impossible to prevent it from degenerating into the most insolent and vexatious tyranny. On the other hand, when the students possess such influence, it forms a complete antidote to carelessness or indifference in the teacher, in the execution of any duty he has to perform. His interest is, in this case, united with his duty; and the most powerful motives which can be addressed to the human mind, contribute to cherish that emulation, without which, excellence in any profession can never be attained.

The *nations*, as has been mentioned, formed the *faculty* of arts. The word *facultas* is here used in a

sense very different from its acceptation in classical authors. It means a society or corporation. Thus, in Scotland, we have the *Faculty of Advocates, Facultas Juridica;* and those who practise the medical profession are, in common language, said to be of the *faculty.* From the first institution of European universities, the liberal arts seem to have been accounted to be seven, as the following hexameter (which every one knows) indicates:

Lingua, Tropus, Ratio, Numerus, Tonus, Angulus, Astra.

That is, language or grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, and astronomy.

Under the first were included the Latin, Greek, sometimes the Hebrew language, and a knowledge of the grammar of those languages.

It has been already mentioned that, in the twelfth century, Latin was the language of the learned alone; but as soon as education became an object of general attention, and was rendered necessary before certain professions could be exercised, the studies of youth were directed, in the first instance, to acquire a knowledge of it, and this sometimes in preference to their own vernacular tongue,—a circumstance not uncommon in some of the continental seminaries at this day.

Priscian was the text upon which the teachers were enjoined to comment; and it was their business to make their pupils thoroughly masters of it. The

authors read in the class were, for a very long period, selected with little judgment; but, as a taste for learning began to revive, the works of Cicero, Virgil, Sallust, were introduced. The levities and licentiousness of Ovid and Horace excluded them from being read. So attentive were the Parisian colleges to the morals of those entrusted to their care, that, even so late as the commencement of the French revolution, every offensive expression, or indelicate allusion, was most carefully expunged from these authors, in the copies that were allowed to be used in the schools.

To promote the study of Latin, or rather to render a knowledge of it indispensible, the scholars were commanded to employ no other language in conversation. Upon a breach of this, severe penalties were inflicted. But no plan that could be devised, ever excluded a barbarous Latinity from those schools. It remained more or less in every one of them, until the sixteenth century; and was chiefly encouraged by the barbarous dialect they employed, and were obliged to hear, in their scholastic disputations. This, together with the necessity of speaking it in colloquial discourse, before their taste was formed, or they were masters of the language, prevented them from ever acquiring a command of a pure classical Latin style. They had, however, an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of it.

No similar opportunity was afforded in regard to the Greek language. Until a very late period, the

study of it was unknown in all our European colleges; but justice compels us to acknowledge, that this defect ought not to be ascribed to the ecclesiastical rulers, because, as early as 1311, by a council, assembled at Vienne, in Dauphinè, by Pope Clement V. various regulations were published, concerning the cultivation of this noble language. Among others, it was ordained, that professors of Greek should be established wherever the court of Rome might happen to have its residence at the time, as well as at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. Each of these were to have two professors; one to give lessons to the students; and the other to translate into Latin the works of the Greek writers. But this wise decree appears to have been totally disregarded. Pope Nicolas V. who died in 1455, was a great patron of Grecian learning. He collected all the books in that language which he could procure; and employed learned men, who were skilled in Greek, to translate them into Latin. It was not till 1458 that a public professor was established even at Paris; and in the German and Dutch universities it was much later. The taking of Constantinople, in 1453, may however be reckoned the era at which the revival of Grecian literature commenced, in consequence of so many learned men being compelled to take refuge in Italy, in order to save themselves from the unrelenting cruelty of the Turk. They brought with them their language, and the books in which so precious treasures were con-

tained. They formed many pupils in Italy; by whose means the literature of Greece was quickly spread through France, Germany, and the other countries of Europe: so that, in the course of a few years, there was no eminent seat of learning where it was not taught; and it was enacted, that no one should be admitted to the study of the canon law, without a knowledge of it.

Besides Latin and Greek, there was also included under *language* the *first* of the liberal arts, the Hebrew tongue, and sometimes the Syriac and Arabic.

The general ignorance which prevailed respecting the oriental languages appears very extraordinary. Some apology might, no doubt, be devised for those of the learned professions being uninstructed in Greek; but, from the great number of learned Jews that flourished in the dark ages, who were spread over every country in Europe, it is truly astonishing that curiosity should have been so late awakened to that venerable language, and in which the Old Testament Scriptures are written. The attention of the literary world was directed to the cultivation of Hebrew much about the same time as it was to that of Greek. Abelard and Heloise were, in the twelfth century, the only persons who understood Hebrew in Paris. But about the time when a Greek professorship was established there, another for Hebrew was also founded, though with this difference, that it was supported by the university, and not by

the fees of the students alone. Arabic was not taught till 1575.

Upon the whole, the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, were what by way of eminence were called *the three languages.* The two former, before the revival of letters, were not taught with much taste. Little pains were taken to point out or to illustrate the beauties of the sentiment or expression in the classics; and indeed, as has been observed already, the best authors for this purpose were not selected. The chief aim which seems to have been kept in view was, to communicate a knowledge of the principles of these languages, to ground the young students well in the concord and government, without paying much regard to any thing else. For this purpose, the two Priscians, that is, the work itself, and an abridgment of it, were solely employed for the Latin. The grammars of Gaza and Lascaris contributed very much to the progress of a knowledge of Greek; but that of Peter Ramus superseded all the others in the schools, both from the high reputation of the author, and from being composed upon a much more methodical plan. It was published at Paris in 1557; and was quickly introduced into the other European seminaries.

The philosophy of grammar, or universal grammar, was totally disregarded in the schools, and comparatively, until within these few years, seems never to have engaged the attention of modern philosophers in proportion to its importance.

It has been the subject of dispute, whether, in a course of instruction at the university, rhetoric or logic ought to be taught first. This is a dispute quite foreign to our purpose. It is, therefore, sufficient to add, that, in what university soever those two ARTS were taught, the former had uniformly the precedence. It presents objects much more inviting to young minds than dialectics: and, when properly treated, eloquence, poetry, and just criticism on works of taste, are much more level to their capacity. The noble monuments of genius, however, which Aristotle, Dyonisius of Halicarnassus, and Longinus, in the Greek; and Cicero, Quintilian, Horace, and others, in the Latin,—were neglected by them; so that this study, which is so alluring, when guided by sound principles of philosophy, was treated in a manner so jejune, that, in a very short time, it was in a great measure slighted, and consisted of little else than what the poet has described it to be, when he says,—

> For all a rhetorician's rules
> Teach nothing but to name his tools.—BUTLER.

The study of rhetoric was also for ages disregarded, in consequence of an absurd opinion, that eloquence was the gift of nature; and that it was in vain for any one to bestow pains in the prosecution of it, unless the bounty of Providence had conferred it. Instruction, therefore, became useless, both to those who had and to those who had not received this talent.

The truth is, that, for many centuries, logic, or the art of disputation, as taught by Aristotle, occupied the attention of all who possessed the ambition of excelling in the estimation of their contemporaries. This was the direct road to fame, which, in the esteem of generous minds, is far more valued than any acquisition whatsoever. The popularity of the Peripatetic philosophy is the most singular feature in the literary history of modern Europe; and its injurious effects have been only partially removed even at this day. In some schools and universities, the influence of the Stagyrite is as great as ever it was in the Lyceum at Athens.

The fate of the philosophy of Aristotle presents as singular an instance of the versatility of human affairs as can be well selected. During his lifetime, his reputation as a teacher was as high as any who ever discharged that honourable function. If we are to credit the ancients, his works were more numerous than that of any ancient philosopher; but their lot was singularly unfortunate. He left them by will to Theophrastus; and after being in the custody of Neleus Scepsius, they were transmitted to his heirs, who were totally illiterate. They sold part of them to Ptolemy, in order to be deposited in the library of Alexandria; but when that noble monument of literary fame and industry was destroyed, they also perished in the flames. The works of Aristotle, which were not disposed of, were buried or concealed in a cave, and were not discovered for

the long period of one hundred and thirty years. Whether this account be true or not, it is very obvious that his works could not fail to be transmitted to us in a very imperfect and mutilated state, notwithstanding that Apellico Teius employed persons to transcribe them. They were carried to Rome by Sylla.

But the mutilated state in which they were found, does not form the chief difficulty in determining what his peculiar opinions were, or what precise plan of philosophizing he had prescribed to himself. His works were interpolated at the very first transcription; and, besides, we know that both he and Plato purposely concealed their doctrines under the veil of obscure and enigmatical language. It is reasonable to suppose that in this they copied the Egyptian priests.

The greater number of Aristotle's works were either lost or neglected; and the scholastic doctors, by a strange infatuation, fixed upon that part of his philosophy which was the most uninviting, and from which the least advantage was to be obtained. Little or nothing was taught in the schools for ages but his Logics, or, as they were sometimes called, Dialectics. Any knowledge which they were able to acquire of his method was at first derived through the medium of translations; but, towards the end of the twelfth century, Europe was put in possession of his works in the original, which was esteemed an invaluable treasure. From this period, till almost

our own times, he may be said to have reigned without a rival in every university in Europe. The greatest men of the age, the most profound scholars, men of the most singular endowments, of the greatest acuteness and quickness of parts, rivalled each other, and were proud of the employment of commenting upon, and attempting to render plain and intelligible, the obscure subtleties of Aristotle. They pursued this study with the most unparalleled perseverance, and exhausted every artifice which the most uncommon talents could invent, in order to reconcile *the philosopher* (for this was the name by which he was now known) with himself, a thing impracticable, and to explain abstruse refinements, to which it is probable he annexed no ideas. When this jargon was first introduced, it was done with diffidence and modesty; but no sooner was it found that it was equally adapted to the defence or refutation of truth or error, than the tone of the doctors sustained a most material change. The whole circle of the sciences was made to give way to the mood and figure of this artificial and self-sufficient system; the laws of nature were pretended to be explained by it; and, in short, no intellectual phenomena, no truth, whether moral, mathematical, or physical, it was affirmed, could be ascertained without the aid of dialectics and the analytical method. The bondage and thraldom under which it kept the human mind, and the European universities in particular, is much to be regretted, as it was by far the most formidable

opponent with which science, and consequently the best interests of mankind, have had to struggle in these latter ages of the world. The Scotish schools were equally attached to this mode of reasoning with their contemporary institutions. The only opposition to Aristotle's philosophy which was made when it was at its zenith of reputation, and that is worthy of being mentioned, was attempted by the celebrated Peter Ramus, about the middle of the sixteenth century. The influence of the church and the university of Paris together crushed it in the bud; but his *Institutiones Dialecticæ* produced a very considerable effect in about a century afterwards, and materially aided Gassendi, Locke, and others, to pave the way for a more sound and rational logic.

The other four liberal arts were in general little regarded in the schools. Individuals no doubt appeared occasionally, who, by the mere force of natural abilities, and a strong predilection for such studies, made uncommon progress. But they seldom succeeded in communicating to their pupils a similar relish for these sciences. Arithmetic and geometry comprehend the whole of mathematical science: the former being quantity numbered, and the latter quantity measured. A very short space was allotted, or rather a very slight degree of attention was generally paid to either; and, even in our British universities, the greater number of the mathematical chairs have owed their foundation to the

benefactions of individuals who themselves were proficients in the science, and were of course aware of its great importance. Professors of music were also established, whose business it was to teach this art; and, so late as the foundation of King's College, Aberdeen, it was expressly enjoined to be taught there. But here, as well as in other places, it was principally confined to the art of chanting the service of the church. Their system of physics was equally confined within narrow bounds; and I have little doubt that, under astronomy, the idle study of astrology was included. It is certain, however, that Aristotle's astronomy was taught; and that any thing which bore the least resemblance to a just theory of the heavens, was altogether exploded.

The period appropriated for initiating students into the knowledge of these liberal arts, was varied at different times. All the universities did not adopt the same plan. In Paris, for example, the course prescribed, originally extended to five years. In the sixteenth century, the term was reduced to three years and a half; again to two and a half; and the last regulation upon that subject, confined their attendance only to two years. In Oxford, on the other hand, before any one can be proposed as a candidate for the lowest degree in arts, he must have attended four years, or sixteen terms; and a period of three years must intervene, before he can be promoted to that of *Master*. In Cambridge, it is necessary to have attended nine complete terms, before any

one can obtain the degree of Bachelor of Arts. In Scotland, the ordinary course is from three to four years. Whatever the number of terms might be during which attendance was enjoined, previous to obtaining a degree, there can be no doubt that the chief stress was placed upon dialectics, and that the examinations principally turned upon their knowledge of the school logic.

It has been remarked above, that the chief design in establishing universities was, to afford the means of instruction to ecclesiastics, or to promote the study of theology. The faculty of arts, strictly speaking, constituted the foundation of the institution, as it was necessary, in the first instance, to have gone through the preparatory studies belonging to it, and which we have enumerated, before they could be admitted as members of any of the other faculties. These were three,—Theology, Law, and Medicine.

The manner in which theology, the most interesting of all sciences, was taught in the European seminaries, was not the most auspicious to its progress. Upon a very superficial view, it will be perceived that the principles and the history of religion include the whole compass of theological study. The former are contained in the Scriptures; and the latter, partly in the same writings, and in the works of ecclesiastical authors, who could lay no claim to inspiration. During the earliest stages of the existence of universities, we have seen, that instruction in the languages in which the sacred volume is composed,

formed no part of their discipline. The authoritative decree of the church had indeed rendered this almost totally useless, when it declared what is called the Latin Vulgate equally inspired, and of equal authority, with the originals. But schools of divinity had existed only for a very short time, when the method of acquiring a knowledge of it became quite different from what one would have concluded to have been natural and obvious. From the period when schools of theology were first instituted, it does not appear that much regard was paid to the decision of Scripture. The art of criticism had not been applied to profane authors, with whose language they were better acquainted than with the idioms of the orientalists. Hebrew literature was in its infancy; and its high importance, in interpreting both the Jewish and the Christian Scriptures, had not yet been observed. There were various other reasons which gave a different direction to their plan of studying theology, which, how interesting soever in itself, were we to attempt a *full* explanation of it, would lead to a digression too long for our present purpose. It is necessary, however, to observe that, immediately succeeding the apostolic age, a great variety of rites and ceremonies were from time to time introduced into the church. In every great society, there must be persons whose talents, acquirements, situation in life, or other circumstances, give them advantages above others. In the history of the Christian Church, these were called *Fathers*. Whether

this honourable appellation was applied to them from the superiority of their intellectual or moral qualifications, or from both, need not be inquired. In a short time, however, their writings were in so high estimation, that they were held not only as deserving of equal reverence with the inspired code, but their authority practically decided every question which either respected the doctrine or the discipline of the church.

Jerome had at a very early period afforded an instance of diligence in acquiring a knowledge of the languages in which the inspired code is written; and, at the same time, gave the example of the application of the principles of criticism, in order to arrive at a just interpretation of what it contained. But though the church found it necessary to avail themselves of his labours, in adopting his translation, and authoritatively declaring it to be equally entitled to respect with the originals, yet, by some fatality, few seem to have been disposed to pursue the same path; and, indeed, until the appearance of Erasmus, his critical writings were rather esteemed as hostile to the established doctrine of the church. During the long period which intervened between the times when these two illustrious men flourished, the schools of theology were in the lowest state of degradation. In the twelfth century, Peter Lombard published his book of *Sentences*, which consisted of extracts from the writings of the Fathers, without any regard to methodical arrangement. He also attempted, in the same work, the

idle enterprize of reconciling their very discordant opinions. The teachers of theology were for a very long period contented to comment upon this work, which, from its very great popularity, altogether superseded the necessity of studying the Scriptures. At last, however, the Aristotelian logic was introduced into the schools of divinity, and succeeded in totally supplanting Lombard's admired performance. It was this last method which was popular when all the Scotish universities were established; and, indeed, it retained its authority for a long time after.

Theology, strictly so called, included under it the doctrines or speculative opinions of the Christian system as taught in the schools. There was, however, another branch of theological study, which, in process of time, was cultivated with greater ardour, as it paved the way to the highest ecclesiastical and civil offices which could be obtained. This was the canon law. The former referred principally to what was esteemed to be the defence of the orthodoxy of the church; and the latter regarded its discipline, or an illustration of those rules or *canons* which the church had declared to be the only infallible standard of church government sanctioned by Christ, his Apostles, and their successors. In so compact, and yet in so complicated, a machine as that of the Romish hierarchy, this part of the system was really of greater importance towards its support, than a regularly digested code of doctrine to be believed. The Church of Rome seem to have been fully aware of the hazard

which accompanied the publication of certain dogmas, as alone received by them. Their aim was to leave that undecided; and as it was considered to be of little consequence what the opinions of the community were, provided that the *integrity* of the church was maintained, they were more anxious to assert the necessity of complete uniformity in regard to ecclesiastical authority or discipline, than to any thing else. Thus, Bossuet's defence of the principles of the Church of Rome, is nearly as different from that of Bellarmine as protestantism is from popery. The cause can be easily assigned. A man of his learning and genius could not fail of being fully aware, that arguments which were esteemed irresistible in former ages, would have appeared altogether ridiculous at the time he wrote. No relaxation, however, of this kind ever took place in the system of the canon or ecclesiastical law. This was founded upon precedent; was a law of their own creation; and no change consequently could be ever attempted by a good son of the church.

It was not until the twelfth century that an attempt was made to reduce this complex code of ecclesiastical law into a system. Gratian, a monk of St Felix of Bologna, in Italy, was the person who first attempted this enterprize. Various opinions have been entertained with respect to the ability, and even the fidelity, with which his work is executed. There can be no doubt, however, that the time of its publication was exceedingly opportune,

and that it gave a new direction to the studies of ecclesiastics. Those Scotish universities which were founded before the reformation, were originally endowed by private individuals, who were churchmen. It is, therefore, not suprising if, in the arrangement which was made, particular regard was had to the *canon law*. Accordingly, in Glasgow College, and in King's College, Aberdeen, the founders were very minute in describing this part of the course. The change which took place at the reformation, completely superseded the necessity of studying it; and as the university of Edinburgh was founded posterior to that period, it is natural to conclude that no similar arrangement would be considered as necessary. At the time of its foundation, few lectures were delivered upon the canon law in protestant seminaries. The abolition of this system was justly esteemed *as* essential to the progress of reform *as* opposition to speculative opinions.

The influence which the wonderful destiny of the Romans had upon the European nations was very great. Their language, as has been already stated, was taught in all European seminaries of learning. This was a proof that the works written in that language, whether religious, poetical, or philosophical, maintained a superiority which was unrivalled. The Roman law was reduced to a system; and how much soever the different opinions of competent judges may be respecting its merit, yet it cannot be denied, that of all the codes of law which

have ever been published by a great nation, the Justinian code certainly deserves the preference. An allusion is not only made to the philosophical principles upon which it is founded, but to the great good sense that pervades the whole, and to its applicability to the general order of human affairs. Its adoption, however, was very different in the European states. In Roman Catholic countries it obtained universal sway, unless when circumstances, which we have not time to explain, prevented its operation.

This is not the proper place to examine at any length the more immediate causes of the very general popularity of the Roman law throughout Europe. The sway which that immense fabric of human greatness possessed, was greater than that of any nation whose history has been transmitted to us. The vulgar notion, that there were no copies in Europe of the Justinian code, until they were accidentally discovered at Amalphi, in 1133, is attested by no satisfactory evidence. That this discovery produced the effect of bringing it into public notice, must be admitted. The Roman law was taught at Constantinople before that period; and though we have no records which settle the real state of the case, yet it is probable that the governments of Europe were fully prepared for its reception; and that this was the chief cause of the great influence which it so speedily acquired.

The lectures delivered upon the civil law origi-

nally consisted in causing the students explain the Institutes and the Pandects; a mode still adopted in some seminaries. By degrees, however, attempts were made to reduce the Roman law into a system, though it required a long course of years before this was accomplished. Irnerius, a German, who had studied the civil law at Constantinople, was the person who was appointed by the emperor to review the Justinian code; and, from the ability with which he executed this difficult task, he acquired the name of "*Lucerna Juris.*" He first taught at Bologna, then at Angers, at Orleans, and at Paris. In a very short time, the study of the civil law became exceedingly popular; and, in those Scotish universities which were founded before the reformation, the study of it formed a part of their original constitution. All the founders had studied law at Paris; and Bishop Elphingstone, who founded King's College, Aberdeen, had taught it there with great reputation for six years. The school of Edinburgh was, for a great number of years, without an establishment of this kind. No records are known to exist, from which it can be inferred *who* first prelected upon, or in *what university* lectures were first given upon Roman law in Scotland. It is probable that Glasgow university has the superior claim.

The institution of a medical school in the European seminaries is more difficult to trace than that of any of the other faculties; and it was also longer before it arrived at that perfection to which they had

attained. The earliest notice which I have been able to discover of any professor of medicine being appointed in Scotland, is in Glasgow, in 1637.* It seems however to have been merely a nominal office, and that no regular course of lectures was delivered upon that science for a very long time after. The medical school in Edinburgh is of a very modern date, notwithstanding the high reputation to which it has now so deservedly arrived.

The origin of degrees, as they are called, in the European universities, is involved in great obscurity. Difference in rank and station is indispensibly requisite to the very existence of every well constituted society; and this distinction is no less necessary or convenient in associations composed of literary men, than in any other. It is to be presumed, that originally those marks of distinction were intended as public testimonies of the success with which they had prosecuted their studies. The first degree conferred upon those who aspired to, and were considered as deserving of, academical honours, was that of bachelor, or *baccalaureus*. Many different opinions have been entertained, and much learning displayed, in order to explain the origin of this name. Some have had recourse to the name of a well known officer, who attended knights in the field of battle, and carried a staff, the insignia of their office: whilst others, with greater probability, have deriv-

* Statistical Acc. vol. xxi. p. 25.

ed it from the laurel which, from the earliest antiquity, formed the chaplet of the victors in the games. It is at least certain that *laureated* was originally applied to those who took their degrees in Scotland; from which it is presumed, it may be fairly inferred, that the latter etymology is the more correct. Perhaps, at the earlier periods of the establishment of the Scotish seminaries, it might be customary to take this degree; but, from time immemorial, it has been altogether neglected. In the English and foreign universities, however, it still continues to be the custom to pass as *bachelor*; and, in the regular course, it is considered as an indispensible step towards being advanced to that of master and doctor. Anciently, the bachelor had to deliver a course of lectures, under the superintendance of a doctor, before he could be admitted to that honour. Thus, the economy of an university resembled that of every other corporation; the bachelor might be called the apprentice, and the doctor the master.

The next regular step was that of licentiate, as it is called in most universities, but in Oxford and in some others it is stiled *Inceptor*, as, for example, *Inceptor in Facultate Artium*, &c. From the most ancient times, no person was permitted to teach or to give instructions in any art or science, without applying for and obtaining a licence to do so from those who were freemen of the incorporation, if I may use such an expression. This was uniformly

the case, from the meanest mechanical trade to those which were esteemed as the most honourable and learned professions. The degree of licentiate is altogether superseded in the Scotish colleges, for a very obvious reason. The professors perform the whole duty of teaching; but in Oxford and Cambridge, where the office of a professor is merely nominal, unless there existed an order of licentiates, or something similar, the students could have no opportunity of being taught any thing, the whole business of teaching (with two or three exceptions) being committed to persons who, by the statutes of the university, are not obliged to deliver lectures. The number of years which must intervene between being promoted to that of bachelor and that of licentiate depended upon the faculty to which the candidate was attached. Thus, at Oxford, in the faculty of arts it is three years, in music five, in civil law, medicine, and theology, four years. Licentiate in divinity is still retained in the Church of Scotland, and applied to those who are allowed to preach, but have not been ordained. The Royal Society of Physicians also have licentiates.

After the student had obtained the honour of being a bachelor and licentiate, he looked forward to become *master*. Four years was the ordinary time which elapsed, but this was reckoned from the day that he took his bachelor's degree. Before the reformation, when the power of the church was absolute, and her injunctions scrupulously obeyed, no

one was allowed, even in ordinary discourse, to address another by the name of master, unless he had received from an university this academical honour.

The last and the highest distinction which could be obtained was that of doctor; and to this rank it was the summit of the ambition of the members of the university to aspire. It was originally understood, that those upon whom this honourable title was conferred, were to be employed in teaching the peculiar science in which they had proceeded as doctors. But in a short time it was esteemed as merely honorary, and the laborious duty of instructing others was no longer binding.

Though the names bachelor, licentiate, master, and doctor, were indiscriminately applied to all the faculties, yet some had the precedence of others. The order generally adopted was, music, law, medicine, and theology; the last being always considered as a degree superior in dignity to the rest, partly in consequence of the infinite importance of theology to the best interests of mankind, but principally, I believe, at its original institution, because it was the invention of priests, who engrossed all civil and ecclesiastical power, and who were anxiously desirous to exalt their own above every other order. We may remark, before we conclude this part of our subject, that similar distinctions have existed in every nation where literature has been cultivated even in the most imperfect degree. In India they are still to be found; and we know, from the inspired

writings, that the similar title of *Rabbi* was greedily coveted by those who affected to be the learned among the Jews.

On some occasions, power was deputed to the Pope's legate to confer degrees. Similar authority was given to the Jesuits; and we know that, in England, the Archbishop of Canterbury has a right to do the same.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Chancellor of the University—Rector—Principal—Dress of the Students—Privileges of Students.

THERE are in all the universities which were founded before the reformation various office-bearers, which are unknown in that of Edinburgh. In imitation of Paris, the other Scotish Colleges have a Chancellor, who is publicly recognized as the head of the university; and although he in general interferes little with its economy or police, yet his peculiar function regards the proper administration of whatever is connected with its prosperity. He is in most cases a man of rank and fortune; and, as such, he has it in his power to protect the rights of the body when they are invaded, and he is generally contemplated as a patron.

The Honourable the Magistrates of Edinburgh hold the office of Chancellor, and are its patrons. Out of their number, the third Bailie is always chosen College Bailie, who may be called Vice-Chancellor. In both the English universities, an office-bearer under the same name, and who has similar duties to perform, exists. These are, taking charge of the

funds of the college,—directing the repairs which the buildings may require,—providing accommodation for the professors and students in the lecture-rooms, as well as for the library,—and, in general, whatever relates to the interests of the university. The Magistrates cannot interfere with its internal discipline, further than regulating the fees or honoraries to be paid to the professors, and the small annual contribution to the library. Their patronage, however, is great. They have the appointment of seventeen professors, besides the principal, librarian, janitor, and university printer.

The Rector may be viewed as their deputy; and indeed, in some universities, he is called vice-chancellor. No public functionary is now known by this name in Edinburgh. This, however, was not always the case; for we are informed,* "that after "Dr Rollock had laureat the first classe, he betook "himself to the general inspection of the colledge, "under the title of principall and rector." At what time this office went into desuetude cannot now be ascertained. Indeed, it is only the name of the office that has gone into disuse; for the Principal is legally invested with the power of discharging all the duties of rector. So that the only differences which occur between the constitution of Edinburgh and the sister universities are, that the Principal and Rector are united in the same person, and, conse-

* *Vid.* Crawfurd's Hist. of the University, p. 45.

quently, that an annual election does not take place as in the others, but, like the principality, is held during life. This will appear to be very plain, if we examine what are the particular duties annexed to the office of rector in other universities. These chiefly consist in superintending the public exhibitions, whether made by the students or professors; in having an inquisitorial power over both; and possessing authority to exercise it as his prudence may direct. It is his province also to take care that none be promoted to academical honours but such as are of good character and competent learning, and that the contumacious, seditious, and disturbers of the peace, be severely punished, and, if obstinate, expelled. These, and such like, are the duties which the rector has to discharge in other universities; and, in the university of Edinburgh, the Principal is now invested with every one of them. Thus, the discipline of this university is as efficient, as prompt in its execution when necessary, as that of any in Europe.

In former times, however, the rectorate of the college was sometimes held by the professor of divinity and various others. In 1626, "Mr Andrew Ramsay, "who, these six years by past, had sustained the "burthen of the rectorat of the colledge (which he "acknowledged to have been but an empty title) "and profession of divinity, dimitted the rectorat "and profession."* The professor of divinity is still

* Crawf. p. 106.

sub-principal; and, in the absence of the *primar*, through indisposition or any other cause, presides at the meetings of the Senatus Academicus. I have not been able to discover any instance of the rectorate being conjoined with any other professorship than that of divinity.

Besides holding the office of rector, the principal is also, *ex officio*, *primarius* professor of divinity; and, according to the constitution of the college, may deliver lectures on theology whenever he chooses, without encroaching upon the province of his colleague. The same is the case in Glasgow. From which it may be inferred, that none can properly hold the office of principal in either of these colleges but an ecclesiastic. So lately as the induction of the celebrated Dr Robertson, the practice was not discontinued. He occasionally delivered a few discourses in the common hall shortly after he entered upon his office; but soon relinquished the task; and, during his long presidency, never revived it: probably because his good sense suggested to him, that though he had a constitutional right to do so, it was placing his colleague in an awkward situation.

The principal convenes, as has been already hinted, and presides at all the public meetings of the university. It is he who, with the concurrence of his colleagues, confers degrees. Though it is not necessary that he should be present at the private examinations, yet, in the presence of the faculty to which the candidate applies, he publicly performs the ceremony.

Since the foundation, the office of principal has always been conjoined with that of minister of the city.

The professors and students are divided into three faculties. 1. The Literary. 2. The Medical. 3. The Theological faculty. Each of these is competent to hold meetings independent of the others: but the students can take no share in the transaction of the public or private business of the university, unless they be parties concerned. This is the province of the three faculties when assembled, together with the principal; and these constitute the Senatus Academicus.

The salaries of the principal and professors are smaller than those of any university in Scotland; and perhaps the great celebrity which it has so long maintained may in a great measure be ascribed to this. All the other institutions are endowed with land, which, from the rapid progress of improvement, particularly of late years, has augmented their incomes very much; but it may be made a subject of doubt, whether it may not relax the exertions of the teachers. The late General Reid has left a very large sum to the university for a special purpose; but, as it is liferented by his daughter, it has not yet come into operation.

The necessity of exertion, combined with its local advantages, has long rendered Edinburgh university by far the most prosperous in Scotland.

The bursaries are few in number, and of very little value. They are chiefly in the gift of the Town

Council; but several are in the hands of private individuals. The names of the benefactors to the university, together with their donations, were formerly recited in the hearing of all at the commencement of every session. This has been long abandoned.

The most barbarous as well as the most civilized nations have discovered great partiality to that particular dress to which they have been accustomed. It constitutes one of the most distinguishing marks by which one tribe of men differs from another. To the civil and ecclesiastical rulers are, in most instances, appropriated peculiar garbs, by which they are easily recognized. They are the insignia of their offices; and the right of wearing them is supposed to add dignity to their official rank and character. Among some nations, the same form of dress has continued to exist from the remotest antiquity; and, in this respect, those of Asia afford a striking contrast to those of Europe. But, even in this western part of the world, instances have occurred in which the great body of the people have been as tenacious of national customs as they ever were in the east. Of this the Romans afford a most remarkable illustration; and they were more particular respecting wearing the gown or *toga* than any other part of their dress. They were proud of being called the *gens togata;* and were careful always to appear in public in the *toga.* None were permitted to wear it excepting Roman citizens. Under the emperors, however, the gown was much disused, and was chiefly worn by

orators, or by those whose profession was that of the law, and who had occasion to address public assemblies.

The ministers of religion have, in all ages and nations, been very attentive to adhere to the kind of habit which distinguished their order. In consequence of the sacred nature of their office, sanctity was annexed both to their persons and garments; and, by degrees, it became a matter of the greatest importance that no innovation whatever should be permitted to be adopted in the sacerdotal habit. This is well known to have been the case in the Church of Rome, from whom the various monastic orders in that communion derived the fashion of their peculiar dress.

Antony a Wood says, that the students at the university of Oxford wore a particular dress in the days of Alfred at least, if it was not common before;* but that it is certain that the cowl, tunic or gown, and mantle, were then used by academicians, as appears from many paintings on windows, seals, and other relics of antiquity, which existed in his time. The gown was similar in shape to that of the Benedictine monks; and he seems to be of opinion that it was borrowed from them. Only black gowns were permitted. The sleeves were loose. It was used by almost all members of universities; yet he allows that they differed in several respects from

* Hist. Univer. Oxon. vol. i. p. 26.

those that are now employed. Gowns of different colours began to be introduced into the English universities before Laud's time, but were interdicted by the express command of his Majesty; probably that the whole dress might be more uniform.

Universities were privileged places; and so, of course, were the students. It was absolutely necessary that the candidates for a degree in the university of Edinburgh should be dressed in a black gown; and this still continues to be the express regulation. Yet the students, on ordinary occasions, now use no gowns. At first, they appear to have imitated the example of other universities, for, upon 8th November 1583, they were commanded by the patrons daily to do so.* And, on the 31st March 1619, the rector and regents were ordered to wear their gowns on the open streets and in the college. The minute is expressed in the following words. "Ordains the rector "and regents of the college, in all tyme coming, to "weir thair gowns upon the open streets and within "the college in all tyme coming, and to begin be-"tymes on the first day of May next."† The principal and professors use gowns only when discharging the duties of their office within the college, or in public processions.

The colour of the gowns used by the students in Scotish universities is more difficult to explain. They are uniformly of a scarlet colour. I hazard

* Counc. Regist. vol. vii. p. 43. † Ibid. vol. xiii. p. 56.

the following theory as a mere conjecture; but it is the best I can invent, after a good deal of reflection on the subject; for, as far as I can learn, there is no author who has written expressly on it, whose work is in any of the public libraries in Edinburgh. In the *first* place, the principal intention of wearing a gown at all is declared, in a minute, which is afterwards inserted at full length, under the year 1692, to be designed to distinguish the members of the university from the other citizens, and to operate as a check upon them. "That all the students in the "several universities and colleges within the kingdom "should be obliged to wear constantly gowns during "the time of sitting of the colleges; and that the "regents or masters be obliged to wear black gowns, "and the students red gowns, *that thereby vaging "and vice may be discouraged.*" *Secondly*, It is well known that the origin of the uniforms of the different European nations being also different was, that the numerous armies employed during the crusades, might be distinguished from one another, not only in their marching to the Holy Land, but in the field of battle, when actually engaged with the infidels. In the arrangement which was made, scarlet was assigned to the British forces, which has continued to this day. The Lord Mayors and Aldermen of London and Dublin, and the Lord Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh, who are the chief civil magistrates within their several cities, wear red gowns, their liveries being the same. As the black was appro-

priated to persons holding a clerical office, so the red seems to have been the distinguishing badge of those who were employed in civil offices. The students, as long as they did not take any degree, were considered as occupying a civil station, and therefore wore red gowns; but when they graduated, they commenced *clerks*, by undergoing a *clerical* ceremony, and therefore commenced with putting on a black robe. Students of divinity, upon being enrolled in the divinity hall, throw off the red, and wear no gowns whatever. No great objection can be raised to the merely wearing of a gown when attending college; but when invidious distinctions are permitted, in consequence of paying a greater fee to the professor (as is the case in St Salvador's, St Andrews, and King's College, Aberdeen), disagreeable consequences can hardly fail to ensue. So late as the days of Charles I. uniformity of dress was prescribed to the principal, professors, and students, of King's College, in a letter from Laud to the Bishop of Aberdeen.*

The students possess no exclusive privileges, as they do in many other universities. These institutions may be considered in the light of a sanctuary. During the term of their residence, they were liberated from the jurisdiction of the civil rulers, unless granted by the university. This incorporated body claimed the right of trying their own *cives*, and of

* Statist. Acc. vol. xxi. p. 61.

deciding in the case as they judged fit. If the student had been delivered up to the civil power, it was an express stipulation in Padua, that he should not be put to the torture, nay, nor even whipped, unless in the presence of the rector, whose attendance could answer no other purpose than to check the civil authorities if he thought proper. The jurisdiction of Oxford university does not, I believe, extend so far; but they are completely superiors of the city, and have a control over its weights and measures, &c.; and the members enjoy immunities from which the citizens are excluded. In Cambridge there is an officer called the high steward, who has a special power to take the trial of scholars impeached of felony within the university, and to hold and keep a leet according to the established charter and custom. The jurisdiction of the university is a *mile* every way round, reckoning from any part of the suburbs.* The College of Glasgow have never acknowledged the jurisdiction of the magistrates of the burgh, though they have recognized that of the sheriff and the Court of Session: and, so late as 1670, there was a capital trial for murder before the rector's court.† In Edinburgh, the Senatus Academicus, as a body, have no right to interfere with the proceedings of any civil court whatever.

The principal and professors have the power of appointing their own secretary, whose duty it is to

* Cambridge University Calendar, p. 5.

† Statist. Acc. vol. xxi. p. 5.

arrange and take the most active part in transacting the public and private business of the college. With this is generally, though not necessarily, united that of being librarian, which, however, is in the gift of the patrons.

It is well known that, in all monastic institutions, the porter or janitor was uniformly one of the members of the society. This was also the case in Edinburgh, though not directly derived from nor copied after that model. Till the beginning of the last century, this seems to have continued to have been the case, for James Young held that office, and was M. A.; and, in 1699, Adam Blackader, who was afterwards minister at Traquair, succeeded him. It ought to be observed, however, that the janitor was allowed a servant. For the rules laid down to him, see the Appendix, No. III.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Foundation of the University of Edinburgh—Reverend James Lawson—High School—Queen Mary—James VI.—The Magistrates of Edinburgh—Mr Robert Rollock—Course of Study in 1583—The University visited with the Plague—James's Patronage—The Covenant signed—Rollock made Principal—Two Regents elected—First Laureation—Professor of Theology—A new Professorship founded—The Students accommodated in Trinity College Kirk.

THE foundation of the other seminaries of learning in Scotland, how much soever interesting, would lead into a digression too long for this work. It may not be improper, nevertheless, to observe, that they were all erected and endowed principally by individuals; and that the same or a similar course was taught in all, during the term that they were contemporary. Some of the Scotish kings had entered with great ardour into the encouragen ent and progress of learning. James I. distinguished himself in this respect, and set an example which could not

fail to excite emulation both in the teachers and scholars.

The invention of printing, however, and the consequent revival of learning, and the more general dissemination of knowledge, gradually paved the way in Scotland, as well as in other countries, for public institutions, in which the youth could have an opportunity of being instructed in the learned languages and in the philosophy of the times. From many causes, chiefly from the political confusion which pervaded the whole of Scotland, but particularly Edinburgh, little attention was paid to the cultivation of the muses. There was another cause. Learning was almost entirely monopolized by the clergy; and the policy of the Romish church seems universally to have been, to remove the court of the metropolitan as far as possible from the seat of government,—not only lest injurious or offensive comparisons should be made, but also that he might be able to maintain that independent ecclesiastical jurisdiction upon which his influence was founded, and which so materially interfered with the civil authorities.

The power of the church had continued to be unabated from its first establishment, and was even increasing, when, about the middle of the fifteenth century, an event took place in a very distant corner of the hierarchy, which at first augured the destruction of learning, and even of civilized society, but which eventually promoted both. This was the taking of

Constantinople by the Turk. The knowledge which this was the means of diffusing, combined with the almost divine art of printing, in a short time shook to its centre the throne of St Peter, and gave the first intimations of those mighty revolutions which succeeded.

It was not to be expected that Scotsmen would be more indifferent to the progress of learning than the other nations of Europe. Cathedral churches and monasteries had existed in Scotland from a very early period, the members of which, induced by the honourable motives of charity or of emolument, generally established seminaries, in which the youth were instructed in the first principles of learning, and the knowledge of the Latin tongue. It was not till 1410, however,* that a *Pedagogy* was founded at St Andrews upon a more extensive scale, in which divinity, law, medicine, and the liberal arts, were proposed to be taught. In 1450, a similar course of study had been established in Glasgow; and at last, in 1494, the same year in which King's College, Aberdeen, was founded, the education of the youth attracted the attention of the legislature. In the fifth Parliament of James IV. 13th June 1494, "It "is statute and ordained throw all the realme, that "all barones and freehalders, that are of substance, "put their eldest sonnes and aires to the schules, fra "they be sex or nine zeires of age, and till remaine

* Buchan. p. 335.

"at the *grammar* schules quhill they be competent-
"lie founded, and have perfite Latine: And there-
"after to remain three zeirs at the schules of art and
"jure, swa that they may have knawledge and un-
"derstanding of the lawes: Throw the quhilks
"justice may remaine universally throw all the
"realme," &c. Those who failed to do so, were to pay to the king twenty pounds, if they had no lawful excuse.

Whatever opinions may have been held respecting the interpretation of some minute parts of this statute, there has been but one feeling respecting the liberal views by which it was dictated. One thing appears to be quite plain, that the "grammar "schules" were different from the "schules of art "and jure." The very age at which they were to be sent, seems to indicate that schools for instruction in the Latin language were at that time much more frequently established throughout the country, than can be proved by any documents which are known to remain. The great number of students who resorted to the three colleges then established in Scotland, considering its population, also clearly proves this. It is known that the celebrated Buchanan was sent to Paris when only sixteen years of age; and this took place in 1520. His merit, according to the most authentic evidence, at the private school where he was first instructed, was the reason of his being sent to the university of Paris. He had never been at any university before; what his proficiency

was is well known. The only allusion in regard to this subject, which I have seen in his works, is in lib. i. p. 6. "Quod ad me attinet, malim ignorare "veterem illam et anilem priscorum Britannorum "balbutiem, quam dediscere quodcunque hoc est "sermonis Latini, *quod magno cum labore puer didici.*" The latter part of the sentence most probably refers both to his own diligence and the inability of his teacher. None of his biographers have ascertained where he was taught.* The *patriæ scholæ* are not mentioned by him; and it would appear, from the generality of the expression, that there were a considerable number of schools to which he either had or might have applied. There can be no doubt that there were schools of eminence at that time, though the memory of them be now obliterated.

I am disposed to consider it as more than a conjecture, that the same Buchanan, upon his return to Scotland, in 1561, was a promoter of the foundation of the College of Edinburgh; at least, the coincidence is very remarkable. A recommendation to that effect had proceeded from some person of great influence; because the foundation of the College of Edinburgh was proposed upon the 23d April 1561, by the unfortunate Mary.†

What the precise nature of this proposition was, it is difficult to say. My own opinion is, that a taste for knowledge had been for a considerable time

* *Vid.* Buchan. *Vit.*

† Counc. Regist. vol. iv. p. 23.

excited, and that it only needed some person of high reputation to carry it into effect.

Plans, however, which suceed, or, in their developement, acquire a great share of public approbation, are acknowledged, from the general experience of mankind, either to have been found necessary, or accommodated to the circumstances of the times. The foundation of the literary reputation of Edinburgh, as well as other more ancient seminaries, may be ascribed to the same cause.

The person who, at this time, took the most active part in promoting the cause of literature in Edinburgh, was the Reverend James Lawson. He had taught, with considerable success, in the college of Aberdeen; and seems to have united a taste for ancient literature with a strong predilection for the doctrines of the reformed. After the death of Lord Morton, he, as well as others, was banished, and died at London in 1584.* It was chiefly in consequence of his exertions that the high school was completed in 1578. The original intention of this excellent institution was, to combine, with the knowledge of the languages which were to be taught publicly, the study of logic and philosophy in private classes. This, however, seems to have been soon abandoned; though it cannot be doubted that the attention of the public was by these means more particularly called to the state of education in Edin-

* Crawf. p. 26.

burgh. The high school was, from its foundation, designed to initiate the youth in the elements of knowledge, and to be preparatory to the study of those sciences which were taught in universities. Though the College of Edinburgh was not founded for two or three years subsequent to this, yet it cannot admit of a doubt that these two seminaries were considered by their founders and patrons as intimately related.

The only authentic document which I have been able to discover, respecting the early economy of the school, is extracted from the records of the university.* Though the interval be half a century from its first establishment, to the year 1628, when this arrangement was adopted, it is probable that little novelty had been introduced into the plan, as the elementary books enjoined to be taught had long kept possession of the schools.

The course at that time was to continue only five years. The other regulations, in many respects, resemble what is practised to this day. Each of the four doctors were in rotation to carry on their pupils for four years, before they entered the class taught by the *Scholiarcha*, who was always to do the duty of the fifth doctor. For the first six months they were to be instructed in the most simple parts of speech, so as to be able to decline all nouns and verbs. But this was to be done in their vernacular

* *Vid.* Appendix, No. II.

tongue; a practice at that time not very prevalent. They were also expected to give the Latin for those objects which were most commonly presented to their senses; and then to be taught the rudiments of syntax after the same manner; to which was to be conjoined the task of committing to memory some useful sentences, which related to piety, morals, and the business of life; and to these the rules of syntax were to be applied. No mention is made of the grammar that was in the first instance to be taught. It is probable that it was the *Grammatica Nova* of *Hume*, published in 1612, and ordered by parliament to be taught in all the Scotish schools; and yet, from the general terms employed, it seems as if great latitude had been given to the Masters. Perhaps it was *Donatus pro Pueris*, or the Rudiments of *Pelisso*. The first part of Despauter's* interpolated grammar was to be used for the first six months of the second year, and an English interpretation given of the more difficult words and examples. In the

* Despauter was a Fleming, born at Ninove. He flourished in the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. His master was Jean Custo de Brechtan at Louvain. In 1501, he obtained the fourth rank among the *philosophers* and *masters* of arts. He taught in various colleges; and died at Comines. His works were collected by Robert Stephen in 1537. In the preface to one of his works, he states, as the reason for Latin grammar being delivered in Latin, to be, that grammarians did not write for their own country alone; but left it to masters to explain to their pupils, in their native language, the meaning, &c. of the Latin phrases.

mean time, the colloquies of Corderius were to be read daily. The syntax of Erasmus was next to be taught, together with the perusal of as much of Corderius as possible, and select epistles of Cicero and the dialogues of Erasmus. At this stage, it was not allowed to employ in school any language excepting Latin. During the third year, they were to read Cicero's epistles, his treatises *de Senectute*, *de Amicitia*, the comedies of Terence, and some of Ovid's elegies, taken from his *Trists*, or that were written from Pontus, as well as such psalms of Buchanan as are in heroic and elegiac verse. Two translations were also to be made by the master from Cicero's epistles, and from them alone, twice every week, which the scholars were required to turn into Latin. The prosody of Buchanan was prelected on during the first month of the fourth year, together with some of his epigrams. They then proceeded to Virgil, Ovid's Metamorphosis, Horace, and Buchanan's Psalms. Short sentences were also to be proposed, which were to be turned into heroic or elegiac, and, those who were able, into lyric verse. If capable of neither, an elegant prose translation was required.

The most singular feature of the whole of this arrangement was what was appointed to be the exercises of the fifth class. They read the whole of the system of rhetoric by Talæus, the greater part of Cassander, and the exercises of Apthonius. The doctrines delivered by these authors respecting criticism and oratory were applied to the works of the

best writers, both in prose and verse. Short orations were composed; and every month they declaimed, in order to accustom themselves to elocution and pronunciation. How long this continued to be the plan of business for the fifth class I am unable to say; but, as we shall afterwards see, a similar line of study was prescribed for students who attended college for the second year. It is probable, therefore, this *order* had been superseded, and that the method which exists at present had then begun to be adopted.

'It must be admitted, that the mode of education here laid down is exceedingly judicious and well fitted to initiate the youth into a knowledge of the Latin language, and bears every mark of being drawn up by persons who were skilful in the art of teaching. It was the result of the long and mature deliberations of the ministers of Edinburgh, the principal of the university, the head master of the school, and others who were eminent for talents and learning.

No sooner had the teachers of the high school commenced their operations, than a new impulse seems to have been communicated to the citizens of Edinburgh. Many of their countrymen had returned from abroad, distinguished for learning and abilities. They had witnessed and had profited by the advantages which were to be obtained from institutions established for the promotion of learning in France and Italy, but particularly at Geneva; and as the cause of the reformation was considered by

them as identified with the progress of literature and science, they became extremely earnest to erect similar schools in every corner of their own nation where there existed any probability of success. Accordingly, a very few months after the high school was founded, a proposition seems to have been made to extend the plan, and to carry into full effect what had been originally suggested by Mr Lawson. For, in April 1579, the magistrates, as the representatives and trustees of the community, took the subject into their serious consideration. What immediate consequences resulted from this is uncertain, or even, by what member of council so noble a cause was originally agitated. It is in the highest degree probable, however, that the person who deserves this honourable praise was Mr William Littil, who afterwards was provost, in the years 1586 and 1591. This I think may be inferred, not only from the exertions which he himself is represented to have made in behalf of the university,* but also from the generous and disinterested conduct of his brother, Mr Clement Littil, a bachelor, and one of the commissaries of Edinburgh, who, in 1580, and in his lifetime, gave, for this purpose, "to the city and kirk of God," his library, which consisted of three hundred volumes. Another circumstance which renders the same conjecture plausible is, that the books were removed to the house of Mr Lawson, the more immediate pro-

* Crawf. p. 20.

jector of the institution. So that he and the two Littils may, in a certain sense, be considered as the founders of the university of Edinburgh.

So far back indeed as 1558, Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, had bequeathed to the town of Edinburgh the sum of eight thousand merks, for the purpose of erecting an university within the city. But the Abbot of Kinloss found means to retain it in his own hands for the long period of twenty-four years; so that they did not get possession of the money till 1582.* It does appear, however, that the magistrates, on the faith of speedily obtaining it, as has been already mentioned, had proposed the foundation of a college on 23d April 1561;† and for this purpose had purchased, in 1563, part of the ground upon which the college presently stands. Three years afterwards, the unfortunate and susceptible Mary, whose generosity was unbounded, her love of learning sincere, and her proficiency considerable, entered warmly into the same views, and endowed with revenues the institution which she was so anxious to patronize. The turbulence of her subjects, and the unsettled state of government, rendered all her efforts ineffectual, though she published a charter, which seems to have operated powerfully upon her son James, and is inserted in the one which is now considered as the foundation charter of the university.

It has always been observed, that incorporated

* *Vid.* a copy of the deed in Maitland's Hist. of Edin. p. 356.

† Counc. Regist. vol. iv. p. 23.

bodies have expressed the greatest jealousy of one another, and also discovered a strong disposition to repel the most insignificant attempts which have been made to invade their rights. At the time when Mary's benefaction was made known, it immediately arrested the attention of the sister universities. They were alarmed, lest their interests might be injured by the establishment of an university in the capital of the nation; and that the youth under their charge would be quickly withdrawn from them, allured by the temptations and local advantages which an university in the site of government naturally possesses. Stimulated by what they conceived to be their own interests, they left no effort untried to prevent the intention of Mary from taking effect. As the bishops at that time were in great favour, and possessed a preponderating influence in the state, the universities employed every artifice to exasperate the prelates against the proposal; and as Edinburgh was not then a separate diocese, but constituted a part of the metropolitan's see, it is obvious that the opposition it had to encounter must have been very formidable. In short, they were successful in their endeavours; and the idea seems to have been dropped for a considerable number of years.

Notwithstanding the unsettled and vacillating state of the government, chiefly proceeding from the rivalship and factious spirit of the nobles, the doctrines of the reformed continued to gain ground, though, from time to time, obstacles were thrown in the way, which

retarded the rapidity of their progress. The very early age at which James ascended the throne, contributed much to promote the views of those who were hostile to the Church of Rome; and they did not fail to improve to the best advantage every favourable opportunity which occurred. In 1581, the hierarchy were deprived of the power which they had so long enjoyed. This enabled the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, to propose the accomplishment of their plans with more openness, and greater probability of success. Accordingly, a grant was obtained for erecting an university within the city; and a right to "the Kirk of Field" was purchased for three hundred merks.* Having now ready access to the throne, they lost no time in making application, and adopting such preparatory measures as were proper, for securing a charter that should place their favourite university upon a footing with the other similar institutions in Scotland.

In the month of April 1582, this was procured from James, who then held his court at Stirling. In the charter which he gave, he confirmed all that his mother had conferred upon "the foundation "of the ministry and the hospitality of Edin- "burgh." Besides enumerating what he had granted, the purposes to which they were to be applied are specified very minutely. These are the words of Mary's charter; "Post nostram perfectam ætatem, cum avisamento Dominorum Secreti Con-

* Counc. Regist. vol. vi. p. 128.

" cilii nostri, dedimus, concessimus, disposuimus, ac " pro nobis et successoribus nostris pro perpetuo " confirmamus, prædilectis nostris Præposito, Balli- " vis, Consulibus, et communitati dicti nostri burgi de " Edinburgh, et ipsorum successoribus in perpetuum, " omnes et singulas terras, tenementa, domos, ædifi- " cia, ecclesias, capellas, hortos, pomæria, croftas, " annuos reditus, fructus, devoria, proficua, emolu- " menta, firmas, eleemosynas, le daillsilver, obitus et " anniversaria quæcunque quæ quovismodo pertinu- " erunt, aut pertinere denoscuntur, ad quascunque " capellanias, altaragia, præbendarias, in quacunque " ecclesia, capella aut collegio, infra libertatem dic- " ti nostri burgi de Edinburgh, fundata seu fundan- " da, per quemcunque patronum, in quarum possessi- " one, capellani aut præbendarii earundem perprius " fuerant, ubicunque præfatæ domus, &c. jacent, " aut prius levata fuerunt respectivè," But James, besides approving of, ratifying, and confirming all these, subjoins what expressly designates the purposes for which they were granted. " Ideo nos enixè " cupientes, ut in honorem Dei et commune bonum " nostri regni, literatura indies augeatur; volumus " et concedimus, quod licebit præfatis Præposito, " Consulibus, et eorum successoribus, ædificare et re- " parare sufficientes domos et loca, pro receptione, " habitatione, et tractatione professorum, scholarum " grammaticalium, humanitatis et linguarum, philo- " sophiæ, theologiæ, medicinæ, et jurium, aut qua- " rumcunque aliarum scientiarum liberalium, quod

"declaramus nullam fore rapturam prædictæ morti-"ficationis," &c.*

A more ample charter for the erection of an university cannot be imagined. The Town Council were desirous to shew every mark of respect and gratitude to a monarch who had liberally conferred so ample privileges, and discovered such zeal to cherish the interests of literature in the capital of his kingdom. They, therefore, sent a deputation of their number to Stirling to receive the charter from his Majesty, and to testify the high sense which they entertained of his bounty to his ancient city, of which they were the representatives.

When the magistrates were put in possession of the competent authority to proceed in accomplishing an enterprize they had so much at heart, they entered upon the execution of the plan with the greatest alacrity; and persevered with such diligence in erecting the buildings, that they were ready to open a class-room, for such as might repair to the new seminary, in the month of October of the same year. In the month of June 1583, however, all their money was expended; and they were under the necessity of borrowing three thousand merks to pay their own debts, and enable them to provide the necessary accommodation for the students.†

The prosperity of a new institution in a great measure depends upon the judicious selection of the

* Appendix, No. I. † Counc. Regist. vol. vii. p. 7. 24.

person or persons who are employed to undertake its superintendance. Of this the patrons seem to have been quite aware. They, therefore, resolved that one of the highest reputation for talents and literature should be invited to preside over their infant academy. St Andrews university being resorted to much more generally by the youth of Edinburgh than that of Glasgow or of Aberdeen, they seem to have supposed, that if a teacher of eminence could be induced to repair from thence to Edinburgh, there was little hazard of want of success. Several persons, whose influence was esteemed to be considerable, were from time to time sent thither, with instructions to use every endeavour to ascertain what regent or professor was most likely to raise and maintain the reputation of the new university. The truth seems to be, that they had set their thoughts upon Robert Rollock,* who had for some time taught in the college of St Salvador, and who, by the unanimous suffrage of the public, as well as of his own university, was the most proper person to whom they could apply. The affectionate and paternal interest which the Reverend James Lawson took in adjusting this business deserves the grateful remembrance of his country. It appears that it was principally

* This account of Rollock is principally derived from a life of him, by George Robertson, published immediately after his death, Edinburgh, 1599; an abridgement of which is to be seen in Melchior Adam. George Robertson was afterwards a regent in the college, and the first who printed the theses.—Crawf. p. 38.

through his urgent solicitations that Rollock was prevailed upon to accept of the invitation.

The honourable zeal which the Town Council discovered in carrying into effect the plan that they had projected, is most distinctly marked in their records; and circumstances are introduced, which are not only highly creditable to them as an incorporated society, and the patrons of literature, but also throw great light upon the manners and customs of Scotland at that time. The state of Scotland in those days is well known, and also the great value of money at that time in procuring the necessaries and conveniencies of life. We may rest satisfied, however, that the patrons of the college were fully disposed to treat Mr Rollock, not only in a respectful, but even in a liberal manner. It may excite surprise, then, that he was only allowed twenty pounds Scots, or one pound thirteen shillings and fourpence sterling, for his expences in coming from St Andrews to Edinburgh to commence his regency.* This he received upon the 17th September. It must be confessed, however, that there exists a strong probability that, like many men of genius, he was in narrow circumstances; because, upon the subsequent 25th October, he again received thirty pounds Scots for his services.† What these services were is not par-

* Act of Council, 17th Sept. 1583.—Counc. Reg. vol. vii. p. 15.

† Counc. Regist. p. 33. And, in the subsequent year, a Committee was appointed to confer with him anent taking up house.—Ibid. p. 123.

ticularly specified; but it is natural to suppose that his assistance in arranging the business of the university had occasioned considerable trouble to him; and that, indeed, it might rather be esteemed as a part of his salary, having already entered upon his preliminary functions as regent to the new institution.

Upon the 11th of October, public intimation was made, "That students desirous of instruction should "give up their names to a bailie, who shall take "order for their instruction."* The early interest which was discovered by the magistrates of the city that it should prosper, is also implied, seeing they undertook the task of superintending the admission of such students as made application. And, that no time might be lost, upon the 16th of the same month, they appointed Mr William Littil, who has been already mentioned,† together with a Mr Henry Nester, "to devise the order of teaching to be kept "in the college now erected."‡ It is not mentioned who the latter person was; but it is most probable that he was one of the ministers of the city. There can be little doubt that this arrangement was adopted, not only with the concurrence, but under the special direction, of Rollock, though it was necessary to have the sanction of the council, in order to give it full effect.

So very poor was this university at its commence-

* Counc. Reg. vol. vii. p. 24. † P. 68.

‡ Ibid. p. 27.

ment, that it could afford no indulgence whatever to the students, excepting that *perhaps* they paid no fees or honoraries to the regent. The frequency of small sums of money being from time to time paid to Mr Rollock by the Town Council, would lead to this conclusion; besides, there is no regulation inserted in the register respecting this, which would undoubtedly have been the case had any fee been required. The city of Edinburgh had, with considerable difficulty, erected chambers for the accommodation of the students; and those who occupied them were required to pay rent;* a regulation in itself exceedingly reasonable; and, besides, it had a great tendency to check that jealousy which either a real or a supposed preference is apt to excite. The richest universities, however, it is but justice to observe, adopt the same plan. The pensioners and scholars at Cambridge, for example, pay for their respective commons, *rooms*, &c.; but the latter, from the enjoyment of scholarships, read the graces in hall, lessons in chapel, &c. The sizars, who are generally men of inferior fortune, have their commons free, and receive various emoluments, similar to what the porters, who were generally A. M. received in the university of Edinburgh.

Robert Rollock, the first teacher, the first principal and professor of divinity, and the first rector of the university, was a man of very singular endowments.

* Counc. Regist. vol. vii. p. 33.

His character as a scholar, a divine, and as a man of prudence and sagacity, united with the possession of every benevolent affection, perhaps has been rarely equalled. He was born in the year 1555, and was nearly related to the family of the *Livingstons*. Having discovered a taste for learning at the school of Stirling, then taught by Thomas Buchanan, nephew of the celebrated poet, it was resolved to send him to the university of St Andrews. He entered the college of St Salvador's at a very tender age; and, by natural quickness of parts, by the most unremitting attention to his studies, as well as his conciliating manners, he in a short time attracted the notice of the whole university. Having gone through the regular course of four years with great credit, he was admitted to the usual degrees which are conferred upon those students who apply for and deserve to have them.

As soon as he had commenced master of arts, he was elected professor of philosophy. During the four years that he discharged the duties of this office, his reputation was greater than any of his contemporaries; and it had never been exceeded by any teacher in the Scotish universities. The *curriculum*, or course of study, consisted of four years; and it was then the practice for the same professor to conduct the philosophical studies of the same set of students through the whole of that term. This was originally the arrangement in all seminaries of learning; and it long continued to prevail in those of

Scotland. At the very time when Rollock had given the most substantial proofs of his ability in instructing the youth at St Andrews, in consequence of the remarkable progress of his pupils, and the public applause which he received at their *laureation*, the patrons of the university of Edinburgh were, as has been mentioned, anxiously looking out for a person of his description; and they fortunately prevailed upon him to undertake the task. This took place in the beginning of winter 1583, when he entered with his accustomed zeal and assiduity upon the conscientious discharge of his important functions.

Meanwhile, Mr Rollock's fame had gone before him; and the report, that so celebrated a master was to begin a course of philosophy in the newly founded university of Edinburgh, operated as a charm, and induced a great number of students to repair thither to profit by his instructions. The impulse which thus was given to the youth of Scotland seems to have been very great indeed. For, according to his biographer and colleague (who had the best opportunities of being informed), multitudes from all corners of the kingdom flocked to Edinburgh to hear his lectures.*

As there was no other teacher in this infant institution but himself, he was under the necessity of uniting the students, so as to compose only one class. He soon felt, however, that this was impracticable,

* Turmatim ex omnibus regni angulis Edinburgum confluunt.

so as to do justice to the young men committed to his care. After having made the experiment, he was, in November, obliged to separate them into two classes. The progress which they had made was very different; and a considerable number of them were exceedingly deficient in a knowledge of the Latin language. Now, an acquaintance with that tongue was indispensibly necessary to derive any benefit from his prelections. The books that were read and commented upon, the lectures delivered, and the only language tolerated in the class, and even within the college, was Latin. This absurd regulation continued to exist for nearly a century afterwards in its full extent; and, within the last fifty years, the professors delivered all their lectures in the Latin language; and, in examining their students, employed it alone. Being ignorant of Latin, it is not to be supposed that they had made much progress in Greek. At Mr Rollock's recommendation, therefore, the patrons elected Mr Duncan Nairn,* a young man, as second master of the college. During the first year, Mr Nairn taught Latin; and, in the second, instructed them in the knowledge of Greek. I have not been able to learn any thing more about this amiable young man, than that he died in 1586, after being much esteemed for his learning and piety; and that he and Mr Rollock were paid board by the Town Council;

* Mr Nairn was received upon the 8th of November 1583.—Counc. Regist. vol. iv. p. 43.

which seems to intimate that they were both bachelors, and perhaps did not live within the college.*

It has been already remarked, that the high school was originally intended to prepare the youth for commencing their philosophical studies at the university, by affording them an opportunity of acquiring a competent knowledge of Latin.† Many, however, who resorted to the college, had no opportunity of profiting by these advantages. The second master, as we have seen, had to supply their deficiency in this respect; and, in all probability, began by teaching them the very first elements. This does not seem to have continued to be the case for any length of time. At the beginning of an institution, which involved the consideration of so many different particulars, it is not surprising that many difficulties occurred, in the execution of the plan, which were not foreseen in the contrivance. Those who proposed to take the benefit of a college education, would be quickly made acquainted with what preparation it was expected they should have made; and as the progress or advancement of the other students could not suffer to be retarded by those who had neglected the requisite qualifications, the probability is, that such of this description as applied were remitted to their studies. It was a con-

* To pay Robert Rollock, first regent, and Duncan Nairn, second, L.20 Scots each, for boarding till Candlemas. This is dated 15th November.—Counc. Regist. vol. vii. p. 46.

† See Appendix, No. II.

siderable number of years before a separate professorship was founded for the study of *humanity* alone;* so that the same or a similar method must have been adopted, in order to preserve a knowledge of the Latin language, with that presently employed at Marischall College, where there is no endowment of the kind. They must have combined the study of the classics with the other more peculiar business of the session.

This appears to be the proper place to introduce a brief account of the method adopted by Rollock in his course, and that continued to be imitated for so many years in the university; from which a tolerable idea may be formed both of the state of literature in Scotland at that time, and (what more nearly relates to our present subject) the mode of instruction which appeared to him to be best calculated to communicate useful knowledge to the youth.†

The session commenced in the beginning of October, and appears to have lasted till about the end of August. It was presumed, as has been already noticed, that the students were perfectly prepared to enter upon the perusal of the best Latin classical historians, orators, and poets. A preference was decidedly given to Cicero; and, in the rules prescribed, this is avowed. At the period of the revival of

* It was about fourteen years after this, in 1507.—Counc. Regist. The earliest notice of a professor *humaniorum literarum* in Glasgow was in 1637.—Statist. Acc. vol. xxi. p. 25.

† See Appendix, No. III.

learning, a partiality for the writings of the great Roman orator was carried to the most unwarrantable excess. So pedantically foolish were some of his admirers, that they would admit no word to be classical which was not to be found in his works. This superstitious admiration of Cicero, it is well known, gave occasion to Erasmus to ridicule those who had imbibed and defended that canon of criticism. His *Ciceronianus*, as well as many, I might say all, of his dialogues, contains the finest vein of delicate humour and raillery, whilst at the same time it successfully exposes the absurdity of those fastidious critics who had maintained a paradox so indefensible. Though by far the most successful of the moderns in imitating Tully's prose, yet this great man clearly saw that such a proposition was untenable, and would lead to conclusions of which its defenders did not seem to be aware.

Another reason, however, may be assigned for the partiality shewn to Cicero, in what was called "*Disciplina Academiæ Edinburgenæ.*" One great end, as we have seen, in the plan prosecuted at the high school, was not only to lay the foundation for cherishing the principles of good taste, but also practically to teach them elocution and the art of delivery. The same plan was followed at the university, but probably upon a more extensive scale. The same authors were read; only the professor had greater licence in extending his observations, in pointing out the beauties of thought and expression which might

occur, and in referring them to general principles, into which it was not to be presumed young boys could enter with any pleasure. The students were supposed to be no longer in the rank of boys; and though the difference of age was very little, it behoved them to be treated no longer as children.

Translation being one of the best means of acquiring the knowledge of a language, the students were very frequently employed in translating from their vernacular tongue into Latin, and from Latin into their own language. These versions were not to be examined in a superficial manner. The regent was to bestow the greatest pains in correcting errors, if there were any, in etymology, syntax, and orthography. This discipline was in no instance to be relaxed, until the principal prescribed and had examined what was called a "common theme." This consisted in prescribing a subject, upon which they were to compose a very short commentary. The intention of this evidently was, to operate as a check both upon the teachers and scholars; because it depended upon the decision of the principal, whether they should be permitted to proceed immediately to the next stage of the course.* This mode of prescribing an exercise has been long abandoned in the Scotish universities, as well as in many on the continent. It is still retained in the great schools in England.

When the theme was approved of, the students

* The rector of the high school examines each class once every month,—a similar duty.

immediately commenced the study of the Greek language. Grecian literature was for a long period in a great measure neglected; and, at the dawn of the revival of learning, was taught only in Italy and in Paris, from whence a knowledge of it was gradually spread throughout the other countries of Europe. Chalcondylas, Lascaris, Chrysoloras, and Gaza, had been the chief instruments of reviving a taste for Greek learning, and of drawing general attention towards its cultivation. They did not disdain to publish grammars of the language, that others might be made acquainted with the treasures it contained. It was soon discovered that their treatises were too abstract, and did not enter sufficiently into the detail of those particulars which must be instilled into the youth before they could become acquainted with the elements of the language, of how much use however they might be to those who had made considerable progress. At the period of which we are now treating, no Greek grammar had been printed in Scotland, as far as I know; and I believe that there was not a sufficient stock of Greek types in the country, had it been attempted. The grammar in the greatest repute was that composed by Clenardus, a work, as far as I have examined it, not compiled with much skill, and with little regard to method. It was quite sufficient, however, to assist an able master in directing the studies of his scholars. Clenardus kept possession of the Scotish universities for a very long course of time; and first began to be su-

perseded by the work of Professor Dunlop of Glasgow, towards the beginning of the last century, (which still continues to be taught in Marischall College, Aberdeen), until Dr Moor published his "*Elementa Linguæ Græcæ;*" so that the youth of Scotland are indebted to the university of Glasgow for the two best grammars of that noble language which have as yet appeared. When they had gone as far through the grammar as the annotations on the nouns, they were to read some portion of the New Testament, and to apply such rules as they had learned from the grammar to the vocables that occurred. They next read the first and second oration of Isocrates, together with one or two others of the same author, which the professor was left at liberty to select. The propriety of this choice may perhaps be called in question. The late excellent Professor Dalzel seems to have judged better, when, after the New Testament, he read the fables of Æsop with his students; and kept them for some time employed in reading prose authors, whose style was the most simple, and at the same time the most perspicuous, and, consequently, contained the greater number of vocables. The illustrious Dr Moor, a man of the most consummate acquaintance (if I may be allowed the expression) with the innermost recesses of Grecian literature, next to his friend and colleague, Dr Robert Simson, the best acquainted with the geometry of the Greeks, and with whom the great Dr Isaac Barrow (who was also a professor of Greek) need not

be ashamed to be compared, had, indeed, shewn him the example, in a *collection* of excerpts which he published many years ago, without notes, and long used in his class. They next read Phocilides, the first book of Hesiod, and some books of Homer.

It is well known that, for ages, expertness in the philosophy of Aristotle was what was esteemed to be the distinguishing mark of a man of science. This system, however, like every other human invention, began gradually to give place to more recent theories. The authors of the reformation had at a very early period agreed to explode the peripatetic philosophy, though perhaps, unconscious to themselves, this was rather in words than in reality; for, notwithstanding their pretensions, they still persisted in employing the Aristotelian method. The person who first publicly declared hostility against Aristotle, and was not afraid to publish a system of reasoning, which he did not hesitate to affirm was superior to that of the Stagyrite, was the celebrated Peter Ramus, a native of Picardy. His system of dialectics, however, derived all its air of novelty from the form which he chose to give to it, rather than to any other cause. The opposition it received from the university of Paris,—the great influence he had acquired among the protestants,—but principally the ingenious, apposite, and various illustrations of his doctrines which he gave from the ancient poets and orators, made it assume an importance to which in strictness it was not entitled. It rendered a subject, in itself

very abstract, more inviting to the student; and, even at this day, his *Dialectics* may be read with considerable profit, from the many beautiful illustrations he has introduced. It much more resembles a system of rhetoric than of logic. The philosophy of Ramus had many who favoured it in Scotland; and it had been taught pretty early in the Scotish universities, particularly in St Andrews. As Rollock had been educated there, it was natural to expect that he would teach the doctrines of Ramus. Accordingly, it was enjoined that, about the middle of May, and in the first year of the course, his dialectics were to be read. They were at the same time to be employed in translating from Latin into Greek, and from Greek into Latin. The passages which were read from the New Testament, Isocrates, Phocilides, and Hesiod, were committed to memory. They were engaged in disputation on Saturday; and in the morning of Sunday they were instructed in the catechism. There were several editions of this catechism. It contained a short summary, in Latin, of the doctrines in the old Scots Confession, which was subscribed, 2d March 1580, by the king, and afterwards by the nation. The questions and answers are very short.

When the students commenced the second year, they were publicly examined; and the regent prescribed a Greek theme. They immediately proceeded to read the Rhetoric of Talæus. The whole system of instruction seems to have been formed

upon the plan followed by Ramus. Francis I. had interdicted Ramus from continuing his opposition to Aristotle; in consequence of which, he was under the necessity of desisting from delivering lectures upon logic, his favourite science. He acquired, however, great reputation by his prelections on rhetoric. Talæus was his favourite pupil, and most servile imitator. So much was this the case, that his *Rhetoric*, which was quickly introduced into almost all protestant universities, is expressly acknowledged by him to be borrowed from the prelections of Ramus,—*e Rami Prælectionibus Observata.* The work itself is very short, and is divided into two books. In the first he treats of elocution, or of style, tropes and figures, &c.; and in the second, of pronunciation. It must be confessed that it is a very respectable compend, and as well adapted for an elementary book upon the subject, as any which have been introduced.

The attention of the students was next called to the Progymnasmata of Aphthonius. The philosophical talent of one man above another, altogether depends upon the faculty he possesses of forming, or, what is not very different, expressing, *general* ideas. The connexion between *science*, which is only an abbreviated form of expression for general principles, which include a great variety of particulars, and the practical application of them to public speaking, or the art of dissertation, seems to have occurred very early to speculative men. Aristotle had reduced the

whole circle of human knowledge to what he names Categories; which must appear, to those who have examined the subject, to be little else than an apology for ignorance, or at least very much calculated to mislead him who is not a faithful observer of the laws of nature. The partiality shewn to Aphthonius, clearly demonstrates that the system of education prosecuted at Edinburgh was principally derived from the imperfect suggestions of the schools. The common places of Aphthonius and of Cassander were no doubt calculated in some measure to direct the youth how an oration ought to be composed, and to furnish them with matter proper to be introduced. But though the want of matter constitutes the principal difficulty which young composers have to encounter, yet the rules prescribed are too artificial and too general to be of much use, and, in many instances, rather fetter than assist invention. By the help of these authors, however, short orations were to be composed, in order to exercise their style in dialectics and rhetoric.

About the beginning of January, they entered on the study of the *Organon* of Aristotle, together with Porphyry's Introduction, the books of the Categories, the Analytics, the first, second, and eighth of the Topics, and two of the Elenchi. This was undoubtedly the most unprofitable part of the course; but as the great object was to render them able or subtle disputants, it was necessary that they should be early initiated into this mystery. At first, disputations were to be held privately; and, before the end of the

year, it was expected that each student should have declaimed in public. The study of mathematics was then in its infancy in almost all the universities of Europe; and, in that of Edinburgh, the science seems to have been almost totally neglected. At the end of the second year, however, a short compend of arithmetic was taught.

The third class began the study of Hebrew grammar; for there was not a separate professor of this language until about sixty years after the foundation. They proceeded in reading Aristotle; and, towards the conclusion of the session, the anatomy of the human body was described. This must have been done solely from books, for there were no dissections in Edinburgh for many years afterwards. And as the whole course of the education was planned principally for the sake of theologians, some common place of divinity was the subject of lecture on the Sunday mornings.

The attention of the fourth class was directed to what was called physics. The books *De Cœlo*, together with the *Sphæra* of John Sacroboscus, Halifax, or Holywood,* were read. Some theories of the planets were explained; and the more remarkable of the constellations were pointed out on the celestial globe, and in the heavens. The books *De Ortu*, *De Meteoris*, and *De Anima*, succeeded. The course concluded with the perusal of Hunter's *Cosmogra-*

* The custom of persons latinizing their names was formerly very common.

phia, and lessons, every Sunday, on controversial divinity. The whole of this, it must be acknowledged, was very superficial; consisting of a short introduction to geography, a comparatively long time spent upon the useless abstractions of Aristotle, and some attention paid to scholastic divinity.

Previous to the students receiving their degrees, they were examined privately, and an oath exacted from the examinators *de fideli administratione*. Having successfully gone through this part of the trial, they, as usual, publicly defended their theses, and were admitted to the degree of master of arts.

In the college register, from which the above account is taken, there is subjoined a long and a very minute enumeration of the several duties which both the *primar*, the professors or regents, and students, had to perform. These regulations resembled, or rather were copied from, similar institutions in Scotland; which, as has been more than once observed, were derived from those of Paris. The hours of attendance, and the different rules prescribed to the members of the society, were nearly the same as Buchanan has delineated, with so much humour, in his first elegy. The hours of attendance were very numerous, and unquestionably borrowed from the monastic institutions of the Romish church; in which, intercourse with those who are not members of the society is proscribed. The most minute laws are laid down to every functionary in the university; and the employment of every day described with so

great accuracy, that no mistake could possibly take place.

The business of the institution went on very successfully under Rollock's fostering care, when the unsettled state of Scotland at that time is considered. This operated with an equal degree of force upon all similar literary societies in the country at the time, as well as gave a great degree of instability to the state of all the incorporated bodies in the kingdom. All the difficulties with which Rollock, his associates, and patrons, had to struggle, cannot now be accurately related; but, in 1585, the university and city of Edinburgh were involved in one of those calamities which was not uncommon in Scotland in those days, and which, in other climates, is sometimes still to be found. In short, the plague made its appearance. A contemporary, and inhabitant of the city, thus describes it—"Upon the 4th day of May, the "pestilence begun in Edinburgh, and was first "known to be in Symeon Marcerbank's house; "which pest continued till January thereafter. The "whole people which were able to flee, fled out of "the town; nevertheless, there died of people which "were not able to flee, fourteen hundred and some "odd."* The whole university were dispersed; and this could not fail materially to injure an institution so very lately established. Rollock, however, was now about the middle of his course; and there is no

* *Vid.* Birrel's Diary, p. 29, published by John Graham Dalyell, Esquire, 1798. The modern spelling is adopted here.

doubt that the esteem in which his learning was held, and the sanction of his example, induced his students to return, and benefit by his instructions. Mr Nairn returned at the same time; and they both resumed their labours.*

The king had meanwhile shewn the greatest inclination to patronize and to cherish the university. Equally liberal and regardless of money with his mother, he was also anxious to be considered, and he really was, a patron of literature. The style of his writings is superior to that of any Scotish author of his time, and is excelled by very few of the English. His talents have been underrated by a certain class of critics. Vanity, and its various modifications, seem to have been the most prominent defects in his intellectual character; and a man educated, even in a very rude age, as a king from his infancy, could not possibly escape from a weakness which a comparatively slender degree of prosperity produces so sensibly in other men. The greatest poets, the greatest lawyers, the wisest laws, the most eminent divines, and certainly the greatest philosopher of any age or country (Lord Bacon), flourished in the reign of James. No monarch, in ancient or in modern times, had so many works of the most distinguished merit dedicated to him. This would never have been the case, had he not cherished literature and men of genius.

* They returned about the middle of January 1586; and the scholars were ordered to *compear* upon the 3d February.—Coupe. Regist. vol. vii. p. 19.

Besides the benefactions which he confirmed, as well as conferred, in his charter, he, in 1586, discovered that he was not unmindful of the university of his native city. The turbulence of the times, and the little authority which he possessed among a factious nobility, and an ignorant, jealous, and democratic populace, prevented the full operation of his good intentions; but he is not the less deserving of praise. He granted the teinds of the archdeaconry of Lothian,* and of the parish of Weems, for the benefit of the college; to which he appears also to have annexed the right of patronage of the parish of Currie, the residence of the archdeacon; which, together with that of Weems, is still in the gift of the patrons of the university.

The eagerness with which the national covenant, or confession of faith, was received by all ranks, when it was first entered into, and the political as well as

* Towards the end of the year (6th December) 1583, the Archdeacon of Lothian demitted his office as minister of the parish of Currie.* The reason of his adopting this measure is not specified; but it is expressly stated, that he relinquished his benefice in favour of the College of Edinburgh. Currie had been always attached to the archdeaconry; but, from the then unsettled state of the Church of Scotland, it is probable the present incumbent had been allowed to retain his charge. It was his demission, however, at this time, which gave the right of the patronage of that parish to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, in whose hands it still remains. The revenues derived from it constitute part of the funds from which the salaries of the professors, &c. are paid.

* Counc. Regist. vol. vii. p. 8.

ecclesiastical effects it produced, are well known. There was but one opinion respecting the expediency of its adoption. The king and his household first subscribed it;* and, in 1581, it was, by order of the Lords of the Privy Council, subscribed by persons of all ranks. But it does not appear that members of universities, as such, entered into a separate obligation to defend the principles it contains till 1585.† Each parish had a separate bond for itself, several of which still remain; but the greater number of them were destroyed during the reign of Charles II. So great was the zeal for subscribing this covenant, that it is known that corporate bodies did not consider it to be sufficient to have signed their names to what they conceived to be the bulwark of the reformation, in the public record of the parish to which they belonged; but they also introduced it into their private societies, and rendered a compliance with it an indispensible preliminary before admission. The same, or a similar principle, seems to have actuated Messrs Craig (the king's minister, who subscribed first), Hamilton, Rollock, Nairn, and Gray. It is not known who the last person

* The original is in the library of the Faculty of Advocates.

† In the *Album* of the university, it had originally been 1587; and it is still plain enough to be perceived. As Rollock commenced his labours in 1583, and the session continued four years, I suspect, notwithstanding the authority of Crawfurd, that the confession of faith was signed in 1587. As it is a matter of indifference, I have, however, followed Crawfurd.

was; but as he was neither a clergyman in the city, nor a regent in the college, and in the original record these signatures stand by themselves, it seems not improbable that he represented the Town Council, in order to give a greater sanction and formality to the deed. Be that as it may, it was enacted, at this time, that every person should subscribe the covenant before he could take his degrees.*

The university, at this early stage, scarcely deserved the name, being upon so small a scale. It continued, however, to gather strength. The many difficulties with which it had to struggle, though they certainly tended to discourage, yet never drove the patrons or teachers to despair.† They, therefore, determined that the institution should assume a more regular form, so as to resemble other universities, not only in Scotland, but upon the continent. Accordingly, in 1585,‡ Rollock was created principal, though he still continued to teach his class. The same is the case in most of the American colleges at present, which may be viewed as similar infant establishments: and it may be added, that something similar happened in the early history of the most extensive and celebrated European seminaries. The

* See Appendix, No. IV. The confession, thus subscribed, is inserted at length.

† So exhausted were their funds, however, that the Town Council appointed a committee "to seek neighbours benevolence to the College founded in the Kirk of Field."—Counc. Regist. vol. viii. p. 15.

‡ Upon 9th February.—Counc. Regist. vol. vii. p. 236.

principality, no doubt, placed Rollock in a situation superior to his fellow labourer; but the other regent, who died very soon after, having been his scholar at St Andrews, and the talents and character of the man so generally admitted, seem to have precluded every objection.

It was now resolved that there should be three classes. Consequently, two regents were wanted.

There are only three ways in which vacancies of that kind, or indeed of any other kind, can be supplied, where talents or certain qualifications are required. I. In a school or university, the most ample liberty may be afforded to every man who has, or who thinks he has, talents to discharge the duties of the office. Before corporations, such as are called universities, had been established, their only resort was to appeal to the public, and to leave the determination of merit to the hearers. This liberal plan, which indeed at that time resulted from the necessity of the case, gave great scope to the exertion of an enterprising mind; and, similar to what happens in modern times, might give currency, not only to doctrines which were unphilosophical, but injurious to those who espoused them. The first teachers of philosophy among the Greeks did not reside constantly in one place; and the cause seems to be capable of a very easy solution. They had not auditors sufficient to keep up at their seminaries what was requisite to afford to them a livelihood, or, in consequence of the hearers finding it necessary, to apply

to some other business; whatever that might be, they had not leisure; or had not inclination; to remain. The same has taken place in every quarter of the globe: and the establishment of universities, or seminaries that had appropriate privileges, has always arisen among civilized nations. Civilized nations are more compact bodies (if I may so express myself) than those nations which have no books, nor an opportunity of obtaining a sight of them; that is, where they cannot be purchased at what the great body of the people can afford to pay. The population of uncivilized nations also forms a most powerful barrier against any improvement. Divided into herds, at enmity with their neighbours, they can maintain no intercommunity with their fellow creatures, and consequently cannot be improved. By the establishment of the law, and by an equal administration of it, the society is preserved in peace and quietness,—the great ends which all good lawgivers have wished to attain. An incorporation or university, whether it may readily admit novelties in theory or practice in the prelections which are given, is generally found to be the most productive of benefit to the community. Almost all the inventors, or rather the most successful cultivators, of science, have been connected with universities, or, what is nearly the same, have aspired to become so.

Something similar to societies that enjoy prescribed privileges, have always existed in every community, where the division of labour has been found

improved to that degree of perfection which the state required. In the university of Edinburgh, some of these causes operated, and some did not. No innovator, however, was allowed to intrude upon the pupils, by way of prelecting, without the concurrence of the whole body.

II. In the greater number of universities, the gift of presentation to any academical chair, sometimes depends upon the influence which the candidate has with some individual, who has himself, or whose ancestry or connexions have, endowed a professorship. Sometimes it is left in the hands of the university or corporate body, which, though better qualified in general to judge of the requisite acquirements, may perhaps be, in most cases, suspected of that impartiality which its honourable members would wish to see carried into effect. Sometimes it is in the nomination of a corporate body, which, though not professing the business of literature, generally possess a competent idea of the requisite qualifications. When they are, or imagine themselves, destitute of this, they apply for assistance to those in whom they can confide. Hence,—

III. The origin of competition, or of a comparative trial. This appears to be by far the most impartial, and the most likely to accomplish the end which is desired to be obtained. To be an expert teacher requires many other endowments than the possession of theoretical knowledge. Good natural temper, accurate acquaintance with what he professedly teaches, combined with great practice in the

art of communicating knowledge to youth, seem to include all the qualities that are principally requisite.

In the election of regents for the university of Edinburgh, the patrons had recourse to the last method. Two only were wanted; but six competitors appeared. The trial must have been sufficiently formal, when it continued for ten days. They must have possessed great hardihood who could adventure upon being examined in their knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and the whole circle of the sciences. As they had to exhibit their skill, in defending themselves against the attacks of those with whom they were appointed to dispute, it is not improbable that the greatest impression was made by him who had the most confidence, and the greatest fluency in the Latin tongue, which was alone used in such conflicts. Mr Adam Colt and Mr Alexander Scrimger were admitted as regents, being declared the successful candidates.*

The first laureation at Edinburgh university must have occasioned a great sensation, not only in the town, but also throughout the country, more especially as it was to be conducted in public. The design of Mr Rollock continuing his private class, as it was called, might possibly be to superintend this exhibition; and the well-wishers to the prosperity of the institution could not fail to urge his compliance. This appears extremely probable, because,

* The other four candidates received L.10 Scots each, as expences, on 17th October 1586.—Counc. Regist. vol. viii. p. 50.

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immediately subsequent to that taking place, he was promoted to another chair. The number graduated at this time, and who signed the covenant, was forty-eight. The principal seems to have diligently superintended the future progress of his pupils; for, in the record, notice is taken of their success in life.

The course of education in universities was principally contrived for the education of churchmen. When Rollock's students, therefore, had gone through their literary studies, and taken their degrees, there was as yet no provision made for the prosecution of the study of divinity, for which the former were only preparatory. It behoved them, therefore, either to repair to some other seminary, where this instruction could be obtained, or that the foundation of a new professorship, to teach theology, should take place. The latter was adopted. Immediately after the ceremony of graduation was over, which had been attended by the principal nobility, lawyers, and divines, in town at the time, Rollock was admitted to the profession of divinity. As the most perfect understanding had always existed between the patrons of the university and the clergy, they very properly, upon 27th August, determined to consult the presbytery of Edinburgh "concerning the principal "beginning to teach divinity."* This was not only respectful in itself, but it accorded with the express terms of the charter they received from James. For

* Counc. Regist. vol. viii. p. 104.

the performance of this duty, and preaching upon Sundays, he was allowed four hundred merks yearly.* He of course resigned his regency; but he still retained the principality; and these two continued to be united in the same person till 1620. It has been already noticed, that the principal is still *primarius* professor of divinity.

The courses of theology delivered in the different protestant seminaries, from the era of the reformation till the time of Rollock, were nearly composed after the same plan. The doctrines, principally discussed by Luther, related to the controversies with the Church of Rome; in attempting to prove that that communion was Antichrist; and to justification in the sight of God by faith, without works. And though he entertained the greatest abhorrence at the Aristotelian logic, his writings (a great part of which consists of his prelections) are composed after that manner; so that it is almost impossible for the most indefatigable student to prevail upon himself to peruse the whole. The sentiments of the reformed were nearly the same upon the principles of religion; and it must be acknowledged, that their method of explaining and illustrating their doctrines was very uninviting, even that of Melancthon not excepted, who, though an elegant scholar, and an acute grammarian, could never divest himself of his partiality to his great master. The first protestant professor who gave a specimen of good writing,

* Counc. Regist vol. viii. p. 120.

united with a clear, comprehensive, and even philosophical view of his system, was the celebrated Calvin, who, when a very young man (under thirty years of age), published his "Institutes of Christian "Religion." This work, which has been generally understood to have been composed with the intention of making the sentiments of the reformed better known, was received with the greatest ardour by protestants of every denomination. The Scotch reformers had imbibed this system at Geneva. Not that Calvin was its author, but in consequence of his being one of the most celebrated professors of that or of any other age, multitudes resorted to hear his prelections. It would be foreign to our purpose to enter upon a long illustration how the peculiar doctrines of Calvin were so ardently cherished in Scotland. There can be no doubt that Rollock entered upon the discharge of his function, as professor of divinity in the university, when he had thoroughly studied, and was convinced of the truth of the view which Calvin had taken of scripture doctrine. The reputation he had acquired was not confined to his own country. Beza, whose judgement will not be called in question, is exceedingly encomiastic in his account of Rollock's works, a part of which had been published at Geneva. These works still remain. They are tinged with the scholastic theology of the times; but they also discover great natural acuteness, a full acquaintance with his subject, and very extensive learning. Such

as are published, with the exception of a few sermons, consist of parts of his course of lectures. His treatise "*on Effectual Calling*," which I have only seen in English, is a work of very distinguished merit; and, though it is not to be gathered from the title, it contains a very respectable outline of lectures on theology. Besides discharging the duties of this important office with the highest reputation, he was at the same time invited to preach, every Sunday *morning*, in what is now called the High Church. This shews that, in Scotland, the same regulation had been adopted, which still exists in England, and in some other countries, where the parish priest is not under any obligation to preach excepting in the morning. It may be remarked, as a very curious or singular circumstance, that, in the canon law, no particular hour for the commencement of public worship is prescribed. This is left to the discretion of the clergyman; and at whatever time the first service begins, this is esteemed the morning service.

The college of Edinburgh produced, under Rollock's superintendance, men who were anxious to promote the cause of literature in Scotland. Mr Charles Ferme, after a comparative trial, succeeded as regent in his stead. This gentleman officiated for a short time only. He removed to Fraserburgh, "where," says Crawfurd, "there was ane beginning "of ane university, over which he had the charge, "and died therein, having been much persecuted by "the prelats." The agitated state of Scotland at

that time, has rendered its literary history very difficult to trace. I have not been able to discover either the origin or the progress of this institution. The probability is, that Cuningham, Bishop of Aberdeen, had sufficient influence to prevent its prosperity. It never appears to have been endowed with funds independently of the contributions of the scholars; and it is not improbable that the plan was originally taken from Edinburgh; but that it never arrived at any superior eminence, further than that of being a school on an extensive scale.

Mr Henry Charteris and Mr Patrick Sands now became the colleagues of Rollock. The former, though an eminent scholar, was a man of singular modesty; for, even as late as 1617, when he arrived at the honour of being principal and professor of divinity, he declined presiding at the disputation which was held in the presence of the king at Stirling. He was author of the only Greek epitaph on Principal Rollock, and of two others in Latin. They turn upon the same sentiment, and are of course encomiastic; but they will bear to be compared with the greater number of the twenty-eight epitaphs, which are also subjoined to Mr Robertson's life of that excellent man. The father of Mr Charteris was by profession a printer in Edinburgh, most probably king's printer, and printer to the university. He was for a very considerable time in the magistracy; but does not seem to have lived to see his son so honourably distinguished as he was afterwards.

Mr Patrick Sands does not appear to have aspired to distinguish himself as an author; but he must have been a man of some consideration, when, in 1607, he was in the "commission anent grammer and teach-"eris thairof." He and Mr John Roy, who had been his colleague, but was afterwards rector of the high school for a great number of years, are the only persons named in the commission who did not hold public offices.

It is honourable to the profession of the law, that, from the first foundation of a university in Edinburgh, the members of the College of Justice discovered the greatest solicitude to promote its interests. The Lords of Session, and the leading men at the bar, attended the public examinations and disputations; which not only excited the youth to exertion, but operated as a check upon the teachers. The approbation of such judges also encouraged the inhabitants of the town and adjacent country to send their sons to this university.

Various conferences* had taken place between the lawyers and the Town Council, respecting the appointment of a "professor of the laws." There can be no doubt that the object of both parties was, in imita-

* The first was on 17th January 1588.—Counc. Regist. vol. viii. p. 195. The contract between the Lord Chancellor, Lords of Session, Advocates, and Town Council, for the foundation of a *doctor* of the laws in the college, was at last signed upon 26th November.—Ibid. p. 23. And again some alteration was made in the contract, 20th February 1589.—Ibid. p. 33.

tion of other seminaries, to establish the profession of the canon and civil law. The professorship of the Scots law is of very modern date, as shall be shewn afterwards. The College of Justice advanced two thousand pounds Scots, and the Town Council one thousand. The destination of this sum was however altered. The interest of the first sum was appropriated to maintain six bursars; and that of the last to be a salary to the professor of humanity. The cause of this change is not known. The arrangement does not seem to have been completely adjusted from the beginning. Two candidates, and indeed two separate professors, taught humanity for some time. They were both men of considerable reputation as scholars, and were great favourites with King James. The one was Mr Adam Newton, advocate, and the other Sir Hadrian Damman of Bistervell, a Dane. Mr Newton was a native of Edinburgh. Whether he had distinguished himself as an author in his native country, I am unable to say; but, by some means or another, he had procured the favourable opinion of King James, because he was afterwards appointed tutor to his son Henry. If we judge of the ability of the master from the proficiency of the scholar, he must have deserved great praise. In the library of the university, there is an autograph Latin letter from Henry, when only nine years of age, to his father, in which he gives an account of the progress he had made in learning. Both the hand-writing and the diction are very remarkable

for his age. Mr Newton repaired to England with his pupil; and never seems to have forfeited the esteem of his royal employer, but rather to have increased in favour. The only literary work in which I have heard he was ever engaged, was in the translation and publication of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent. We may easily conjecture the cause of this celebrated and most inestimable performance being first published in London; but it could have been of no use, had it been given to the world, in London, in the Italian language. The Archbishop of Spalatro at that time resided in England; a person, it would appear, of a fickle disposition, and certainly suspected, both by protestants and catholics, of a want of sincerity in his professions of religion, though of a very liberal turn of thinking. According to the most consistent accounts, it was to this man that Sarpi entrusted his manuscript, Spalatro, who was well known at court, whether with the concurrence of King James or not, prevailed upon Newton to translate the work; and this extraordinary performance first made its appearance in an English dress. Mr Newton was afterwards created a baronet; but of his future history little is known.

What could have induced Sir Hadrian Damman, to accept of so humble an appointment at Edinburgh, it is impossible to affirm with any certainty. His great knowledge of the Latin language, it is probable, first recommended him to the notice of the

court of Denmark, as a suitable person to accompany James and the queen to Scotland. The king could maintain no conversation with the new connexions he had formed, but through the medium of that language; and his own opinion of the fluency with which he could express himself in good Latin is well known. Damman acquitted himself with great address. No sooner had the king and his royal consort arrived in Scotland, than he published six short poems, "*cum privilegio Regali*," relating to the marriage; which he chose to call *Schediasmata*, as if they had been only hasty compositions. The style, however, in which they are executed, evidently shews that they are very much laboured; and it is only justice to add, that, in smoothness of versification, the command of good latinity, and in poetical imagery, he is perhaps superior to all the poets who were so zealous to celebrate this event.* The chief objects which he seems to have kept in view, were to please James, and to hold up to the court of Denmark as favourable a representation of the state of Scotland as could be given. Damman, in the dedication to the fifth poem, says, that those beyond seas (Denmark, I suppose) speak too maliciously of the Scots, for they were respected in Flanders, Holland, and Zealand; and subjoins, that the monarch was very liberal. He praises also the hospitality of the city of Edinburgh, displayed upon the entry of

* *Vid.* the elegant little poem addressed to him by Melvin, *Poemata A. Melvini.*

the royal pair. These allusions could have no other intention than to give a favourable representation of James, his court, capital, and nation, to the Danish government, who appear to have been grossly ignorant of their real state. Newton and Damman were undoubtedly men of abilities; and, besides being good scholars, possessed all the address of courtiers. It is probable that they taught in the university, merely in compliance with the wishes of James, without any design of continuing long; for in a short time they relinquished the employment. Newton never acknowledged the Town Council at his admission, perhaps to flatter his royal master; and Damman went abroad.

The uncommon attention which the honourable patrons shewed, in order to render the principal and regents comfortable in their situation, deserves the highest commendation. The harmony and mutual good understanding which prevailed, whilst it presents a very amiable picture, could not fail to render the most essential service, in promoting the prosperity of the university. The plague, as has been already mentioned, had interrupted the business of the university for nearly nine months. This, united with unfavourable seasons, had affected the whole country, and reduced it to the greatest distress. The masters of the college, as well as others, suffered severely. The Town Council, however, studied to render their situation as comfortable as was in their power. They paid Rollock's house rent; they

added two hundred merks to his salary; and, at the same time, increased that of each of the regents. Whether these additions were permanent or not, cannot now be discovered; but they afforded what Crawfurd calls "an honest assistance" at the time.

In all the Scotish universities, particular places are appropriated for the students, where they have an opportunity of attending public worship. In Glasgow, this is within the college; but, in Edinburgh, no such accommodation has been provided.* From various causes, no chapel has been ever erected; neither does it seem to have occurred to the patrons as necessary. We are informed by Crawfurd, that at first they attended in the East, or what is now called the High Church; but afterwards the magistrates passed an act, "to make a loft in the "Trinity College Kirk, for the use of the regents "and students of the town's college."† It is difficult to say how long they attended there. As the access to it was, and still continues to be, very bad, and at a distance from the college, it is probable, upon the erection of Lady Yester's church, about 1650, they removed thither, where a gallery is at present appropriated for that purpose. The professors formerly went to church in a body, preceded by the janitor, who carried the mace of the college, similar to the custom which is still retained by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, the Court of Session, and

* It was, however, once proposed.—Crawf. p. 39.

† Counc. Regist. vol. x. p. 61.

Barons of Exchequer. It is, I think, to be regretted that this practice has been relinquished; a great many good effects would certainly accompany its adoption. The example exhibited by the professors would induce some to be more punctual in their attendance upon public worship; and their presence could not fail to produce good consequences, unnecessary to be specified.

About the same time, the magistrates shewed every disposition to promote the health and gratify the inclinations of the students, by contributing to their amusements; for they determined to "repair the bounds "of Mure Lands, for the students playing place."* This I imagine to have been the ground adjacent to Burntsfield Links, now called Warrender's Park. Archery was then in great repute; and this piece of ground seems to have been the place where they indulged themselves in this manly exercise.

From the smallness of the salary of each regent (being at this time only L.100 Scots),† the college was subjected to great inconvenience, in consequence of the frequent vacancies which occurred, by his leaving his situation for a better. In order to remedy this, in some degree, it was enacted, that "no regent "should leave his place without six months warn-"ing, and at the same time finding security that "he would complete his college course, and duly "execute his office."

* Counc. Regist. vol. ix. p. 140. † Crawf. p. 41.

The Magistrates of Edinburgh had from time to time formally visited the college as a body; not only in order to assert their right as patrons, but also to render it essential service. They had been at almost the sole expence of erecting the buildings; and they had flattered themselves that the generosity of the family of Hamilton would never demand back the lodgings they had allowed the university to possess in the Kirk of Field. But in this they were in a great mistake. They tried to flatter the vanity of the Marquis, by offering "to put up above the "great gate of the college a large compartment, con- "taining, in great volume, the whole achievements "of the house of Hamilton, with an inscription in "memory of the gift; and withall to give to the "Marques, and his heirs, the honour of presentation "of two bursars to be maintained in the colledge, "and some other like priviledges."* All these, however, were refused; and they were under the necessity of advancing L.3000 Scots as the price of the buildings. This subjected them to great inconvenience. Nevertheless, the Marquis "bestowed this sum upon "Sir Robert Dalyell, a young man of a remarkably "lewd conversation."†

Upon a visitation of the college by the Town Council, which it was declared should be annual, the first object to which their attention was directed was the state of the buildings, and ordering such

* Crawf. p. 77. † Ibid. p. 78.

repairs or additions as circumstances might require. They possess the sole power of interfering in these arrangements. They also examined into the state of the library, the mode in which discipline was administered, and the state of the funds.

CHAPTER V.

Death of Rollock—Mr Charteris appointed his successor—The Plague again makes its appearance—Account of the THESES disputed at the Graduation—James VI. visits Scotland—Various Professors, &c. appointed—Regulations for the University—Charles I. visits Scotland—Alexander Henderson elected Rector.

The state of the university sustained very little alteration for a considerable number of years. The regents were from time to time changed; and that a difference existed, both in their ability for, and success in, teaching, cannot be doubted. The names of none of them, however, have been transmitted to our time as authors, excepting that of Mr George Robertson, the biographer of Rollock, and who was afterwards a minister of the city. In the beginning of 1599, the university, as well as the city of Edinburgh, and the Church of Scotland, sustained great loss by the death of Principal Rollock. I have already alluded to the merits of this very singular man; but it would be improper not to observe, that, during the fifteen

years that he performed the duties of professor and principal, he was beyond dispute the most popular and respectable teacher in Scotland; and, what is very remarkable, he died at the early age of forty-three; a time of life when ordinary men only begin to distinguish themselves. The laborious nature of the duty, or rather the multiplicity of duties, which he had to discharge, seems materially to have injured his health. His constitution, if a judgment may be formed from the portrait of him in the library, was weakly. He must have been of a quiet peaceable disposition, and of a very conciliating temper; for he was equally beloved by the king and the subject; and, in the tumult which took place in regard to the Octavians,* he was of the most essential service to both. He had been moderator of the assembly which met at Dundee in 1597; and some presbyterians have been rather disposed to accuse him of too complying a temper. There is no proof, however, that he ever shrunk from the principles he had usually maintained; and admitting that he was more complying than some of his brethren whom he esteemed, it is only justice to ascribe this to the enlarged views which he entertained respecting church government; for his conduct in that assembly, in that turbulent age, never affected either his speculative opinions or moral character. The theory of presbytery was at that time only in its infancy,

* The Octavians were eight counsellors, whom the king entrusted with all affairs.

how beneficial soever its adoption in Scotland may have been found since his time. The public expression of regret was so excessive at his funeral, that not only the members of the university, and other public bodies, but almost the whole population of the city, attended it. They considered him as their spiritual father; and that, in every respect, his death was the greatest loss which the city of Edinburgh could sustain.

He died very poor. For a great number of years his house rent was paid; and his salary was very small. The half of it was allowed to his widow, for five years, if she lived; and his posthumous daughter received one thousand merks from the funds of the city as her dowry.

His elder brother, Hercules Rollock, was an elegant scholar, and a man of genius. His Latin poems were published in his lifetime; and the celebrated Dr Arthur Johnstone thought them worthy of being inserted in the "*Delitiæ Poetarum Sco-*" *torum*," edited at the expence of Scot of Scotstarvet, in 1637. He wrote several epitaphs on the death of the principal, which express the most tender regret for his loss, and shew how affectionately they were attached to each other. They are subjoined to the account given by Robertson.

The Magistrates of Edinburgh entertained so high an opinion of Rollock's judgement and integrity, that they requested him to nominate his successor; for neither he himself, nor his friends, had the least

hopes of recovery from the very first. He warmly recommended his colleague, Mr Henry Charteris, who has been already mentioned, who was senior regent, and had taught in the university for ten years. Mr Rollock died upon 8th January 1599; and, on 14th February following, Mr Charteris was promoted to the principality and professorship of divinity.* He held these offices for twenty-one years. He commenced his course immediately, and followed implicitly the plan of his predecessor. Divinity lectures, at that time, chiefly consisted in the explication of Scripture, in the solution of difficulties which occurred, and in reconciling apparent contradictions which were to be met with in the sacred volume. This method had been long abandoned in all Roman Catholic seminaries, if, indeed, it had ever been introduced. No commentary, deserving the name, had proceeded from any of their schools, from the establishment of the popedom, till that of Cardinal Cajetan appeared, who applied with ardour to the study of the Scriptures, in consequence of feeling his inability to dispute with Luther. In short, from the days of Augustine, till the era of the reformation, scarcely any thing of the kind had been attempted; and this includes a period of nearly twelve hundred years. The protestant doctors pursued a very different course. The Scripture was their text book; and this accounts for the fact, that by

* He also preached in the East Kirk on Sunday forenoon.—Counc. Regist. vol. ii. p. 25.

far the greater proportion of their voluminous works consists of commentaries upon the sacred writings; and, till within a very late period, the same observation may be extended to the works of the most celebrated professors of divinity, especially in the universities on the continent.

Very little change seems to have taken place in the modes of teaching, or in the general economy of the college, for a considerable time. It may be observed, however, that about this period there is pretty frequently annexed to the names of subscribers to the covenant, in the college record, "*Apostata.*" Whether those persons had reverted to popery, had joined the episcopal party, or had renounced the covenant only, is not mentioned. It is probable that both the last were most commonly intended, and that they were persons who followed the example of the court; for, when James perceived that there was little doubt of his succeeding to the throne of England, and that Elizabeth's health was fast on the decline, he chose to relinquish his former protestations in favour of presbytery and the covenant, and to discover the strongest partiality for the more shewy form of worship that obtained in the episcopal communion. It was natural that he should have many followers.

In 1604, the plague again made its appearance in Edinburgh. This was the second visitation of this scourge of mankind since the erection of the college, and was in the month of April; but it increased

very rapidly in July,* and only a short time before concluding the session. So great was the alarm, that the students fled as early as May; and none offered themselves for admission at the usual time of meeting, on the 1st of October following.

The state of society in Scotland, towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, was very rude. The minds of the people were distracted by religious and political animosities. The administration of the laws was feeble, being either remarkable on the one hand for being executed with the most unrelenting severity against those who could not defend themselves, or distinguished by laxness of application to the powerful barons and their dependents. The people were in a great degree insensible to the delicacy of sentiment, or refinement of manners, which constitute the essence of civilization. There were, therefore, many of the regulations, which were introduced into their public institutions, very degrading to those who had to submit to them; and which, when enforced too rigorously, sometimes produced insurrection.

It is well known that corporal punishment existed in all the British as well as the continental universities till a late period. Whether this kind of discipline had been repeatedly carried to an improper length in Edinburgh or not, cannot now be known; but it is certain, that a spirit of insubordination, or, at least, of dissatisfaction, frequently shewed itself

* *Vid* Birrel's Diary, p. 61.

about the time of which we are speaking. The confinement within the walls of the college also, to which they were compelled to submit, might render the ungovernable temper of some young men very refractory. Whether one or all of these reasons combined excited discontent, it is in vain to inquire; but desertions from the university had become so common, that it was considered to be necessary to apply to the Lords of the Privy Council, to prevent persons who had been expelled, or who had deserted, from being admitted as members of other universities. This took place in 1611; but the abuse seems to have been of considerable standing. Previous to petitioning the council, a representation was first made to the rectors of the other colleges. It seems to have been transmitted by the principal, Mr Charteris; but the copy in the college record has no signature.

"Please your Lo. there hes beene a great abuse "some yeeres bygone, in diverse colleges of this "kingdome, to the prejudice of all, yea, and to the "prejudice of good letters and manners; one col- "lege receiving, and furthwith laureating, students "of other colleges, without any testificat of their "literature and good behaviour from their masters. "Heerby great inconvenients have fallen furth; "some neglect their studies in their whole course; "some committ insolent outrages, and flee from dis- "cipline, thinking themselves sheltred by their re- "course to another college; and some depart from

" their masters, *ne hospite quidem salutato;* and many " affect more to be called masters of arts, then to be " learned in arts. Heerby the verie name of a mas- " ter of arts is almost become contemptible and un- " regarded; which, no doubt, should be farre o- " therwyse, if every college would keepe quarters " with others; none at all receave degrees but wor- " thilie, by their good behaviour and literature. " These, therefore, are to requeist your L. cause call " unto you the masters of your college, and to in- " timat this much to them, that they laureat none " at all that come from other colleges, but upon the " testification of the college whence they come; " which I doubt not but your L. will be careful to " do, as we shall be careful that others discharge the " like duetie to you. And so, by our mutual con- " curse, learning and good behaviour shall be ad- " vanced, and a doore shall be shut on manifold " abuses and corruptions that have croppe in by " neglect in times bygone. So wishing you from " God all health and happines, I rest," &c.

This appeal to the rectors of the different Scotish universities, though couched in very civil terms, and containing a great deal of good sense, seems to have been disregarded. The colleges could have very easily adjusted the business themselves, without any foreign interference. But this was not the case. The establishment of this college had been always looked on with a jealous eye by the rest; and now, when the temporalities of bishoprics were restored,

those who held them became possessed of much more influence in the state. It is possible that their old prejudices might revive; and that they cherished a secret satisfaction at the discontents and apparent want of authority of the college of Edinburgh. I can conceive no other supposition by which their conduct can be accounted for.

The principal and regents, finding that they could obtain no redress from the sister universities, felt themselves under the necessity of applying by petition to the Lords of the Privy Council; and they were fortunate enough to receive a favourable answer. The following is an exact copy of the original. It contains an injunction, which has never been repealed, and is consequently binding upon all the Scotish universities at this day.

"At Edinburgh, the twentie-fyfte day of October, "the yeer of God one thousand six hundred and "ellevin yeeris. Anent the supplication presented "unto the Lords of Secreit Counsall, be the princi- "pall and regents of the colledge of Edinburghe, "makeand mention, that whare, upon occasionne of "ane custom and observation which hes bein re- "ceived of late yeeres within the colledges of this "kingdom, to receive within the same such studentes "who, for their insolence and mishehaviour, hes been "fugitives fra other colledges, and to give them there "ordoures and degrees, as if they had past their hail "time with them. A greate manie of the youthes "within the colledge of this burghe of Edinburgh,

"presuming of impunitie for all there misdemean-
"ours, and to be received in some other colledges,
"in case the said principall or regentes censure them
"for these follies, hes taken and takes the boldness
"to influence the said principall and regentes, and to
"deborde in all kinde of incomelie behaviour and in-
"solencies, no wayis seemlie in the persones of stu-
"dents and scholleres. Whereas, if they wer refused
"in othere colledges, they wold be more careful to
"conteene themselves within the bounds of modes-
"tie, and to follow out there studies and courses as
"appertaneth. And seeing this is a matter verie
"prejudiciall to the youthes, and encourages them
"in follies and neglect of their studies, humblie,
"therefore, desyring that they might have ane act
"of counsall past and expedi in manner and to the
"effect following, likeas at more length is conteined
"in the said supplication. Whilk being red, harde,
"and considerate be the saids Lords, and they hav-
"ing advisit therewith, and finding the desyre of
"the same reasonable: Tharefore, the Lords of Se-
"crete Counsal ordainis, that no studentis who sall
"be fugitives from ane colledge within this king-
"dome, for their misbehaviour and neglect of their
"duties, shall be received within ane other colledge;
"discharging, be thir presentis, the principalls and
"regents of all the colledges within this kingdom,
"that they in na wayis admit nor reteine amongst
"them the students of other colledges, who, for their
"misbehaviour, shall leive their owne: And that

" they on na wayis give them their ordouris, degrees,
" nor laureations; intimation being always made
" to them of the names of suche fugitive students,
" and of the cause wherefore they leave the colledge.
" And ordaines intimation to be maid of this present
" act to the principalls, and regents, and maisteres of
" the hail colledges of this kingdome, wharethrough
" none pretend ignorance of the samine. *Extractum
" de libris actorum Secreti Concilii Ser. Regis, per me
" Jacobum Prymrose, clericum ejusdem sub meo signo
" et subscriptione manualibus.*

" JACOBUS PRYMROSE."

The discipline of the university must have been very inefficient, and its popularity with the other colleges in a very low state, when it was found necessary to have recourse to so violent measures. I am strongly inclined, however, to believe that it was not so much its discipline with which they were offended, as the formidable nature of the examination, that deterred a great many from graduating at Edinburgh. The whole plan had been formed by Rollock; and the regents who succeeded him were either his own scholars, or had received their education at the university. We may rest assured that, during the term of his presidency, neither the solemnity nor rigour of the trial would be relaxed; and so few years had elapsed since his death, that there was not time for great corruptions, or great changes, being introduced. The plan was so ingeniously contrived, that each regent

was a check upon the other; and the employment of the student was so constant, that he had no time to be idle. He was necessitated to *appear* to be busy, whether he was so or not. For example, previous to his full admission to the university, the student underwent a trial of his knowledge of the Latin language. He was permitted to reside a month in the college before this examination took place; not only to allow all the students who purposed to attend, time to assemble, but also that he might be familiar with the manner of transacting business in an university to which he was supposed to be a stranger. About the beginning of November, the students of the first or bajan class were convoked in the public hall, the principal and regents being present. A theme was prescribed to be turned into Latin; and this exercise was to be performed in the presence of any of the regents, excepting him whose class they proposed to attend. To this he was to affix his name, as well as that of the master under whom he had studied the language. This was certainly a most admirable method of exciting, and even of rewarding, the diligence of the schoolmasters of the district; and it operated as a check upon those who were apt to be careless, by exposing them in a very public manner: for parents, in general, are rather disposed to impute the scholar's want of proficiency to the master, than to the incapacity or giddiness of their own children. If found very deficient, it was recommended to him to resume his studies at school, as being unqualified

to derive benefit from his attendance at the university. The propriety of this advice necessarily flowed from the very constitution of the college. The students were prohibited from employing any other language than Latin, even upon the most ordinary occasions; and all the lectures given by the teachers were also in Latin. Without a knowledge of it, therefore, he could obtain no advantage whatever. A very minute account has been given already of the studies of the youth, during the four years course, in the former pages; but we have taken little or no notice of the theses, or what formed the subjects of dispute when they received their degrees. As we conceive that the formidable nature of this exercise could hardly fail to appal the most of young men, and that the terms of entering upon it was one chief cause of desertions to other universities, to receive the same honours, without being exposed to so great hazard of failure, and as, fortunately, the only theses of a very early date which are known to exist, refer to the period of which we now treat, it may not be improper to introduce a very brief view of what they contain.

At this early stage, only five professors made public, previous to the day of graduation, the theses which were to be the subjects of disputation. These were Messrs Robertson, Reid, King, Young, and Fairley. It appears that it was left to the discretion of the teacher, whether they should be published or not. I have not been able to discover Mr

Robertson's theses in the library, though it is certain that they were there some time ago.* Those of the others I have read with some care; and, as they do not differ materially in their general character, I shall not consider them separately in the few remarks which I have to make. There are only two of Mr Reid's, for the years 1610 and 1614; and four of Mr King's, for 1612, 1616, 1620, and 1624; one of Mr Young's, for 1615; and one of Mr Fairley's, for 1619.

The injury done to the progress of science, by an infatuated attachment to the doctrines of Aristotle, is well known. His philosophy was divided into theoretical and practical; and logic was the instrument or means by which what was included under these two extensive divisions was to be discovered. She was the only hand-maid who could introduce the student of nature to her mysteries; and, by an easy transition, logic, which ought to have been only a subordinate study, was quickly esteemed of more importance, and much more noble, than any of the useful or speculative sciences. The grand object of this art was to discover arguments in defence of any proposition, how absurd soever that might be. They never seem to have been aware that philosophy does not consist in the invention of arguments, but in the discovery of the laws by which the intellectual and physical phenomena of nature are regulated. The Aristotelian set out with the gra-

* *Vid.* Chalmers' Life of Ruddiman, p. 99. They are of course mislaid.

tuitous assumption of general principles; and the business of his art was, to direct him how to find out what was agreeable to them. Now, the object of the philosopher ought to be to discover principles themselves; and, if he proceed after a proper method, he will pursue a course directly contrary to that of Aristotle. General principles, instead of being made the foundation upon which his system rests, are the last at which he arrives; and it is only by the induction of a great variety of particulars, that he ventures upon his conclusion.

The theses both of Reid and King seem to have been intended as an exhibition of what was taught during the whole course; for the size of the theses of each year is equal to a moderate treatise. The different chapters of these theses (if I might use the expression) were four, logics, ethics, physics, and astronomy. Reid had graduated in 1600, and had studied under Adamson, who was afterwards principal of the college; and appears thoroughly to have imbibed a taste for the Aristotelian logic. The first collection of theses, which he denominates logical, amounts to twenty-six, and the second to thirty.

It was a favourite doctrine of this school, that whatever existed in nature, had its corresponding *habit* in the mind. It is therefore affirmed, that whatever comes under a common object and end, must also necessarily fall under a common *habit* of the mind. Logic is not only according to right reason, which is common to all the arts, but directs reason

itself, from which all the arts proceed. It is, therefore, by way of eminence, the only rational art. Science, and the other *habits* of the mind, only respect universals; and things universal are, in a certain sense, in the mind. When possessed of the proper *habit*, the acquisition of knowledge is easy; because nothing more is necessary than to refer to the proper *habit;* but no aid is to be derived from any thing corporeal. It is an operation of pure intellection. It is the object of logic to guide or to direct how this process may be most successfully accomplished. This is done by the rules which it prescribes towards the construction of the syllogism, by which man, in the very exercise of his reason, is taught how to proceed with ease, and without error, to the acquisition of knowledge. When this is obtained, no new *habit* is superinduced. What was previously in the mind only becomes more perfect by practice. Definitions are next given of an universal, a genus, a category, the proper idea of an accident; and subtle disquisitions are introduced respecting motion and time, in which the schoolmen so much delighted. Some abstract propositions respecting metaphysical affections, as they were called, which can scarcely be distinguished from their subject, concluded this part of the disputation.

The *theses logicæ* for 1614 are much after the same style. The system is a little more amplified; and some parts, which had been only mentioned in the former, are illustrated at greater length; and the

authority of Aristotle is uniformly appealed to as infallible.

The *theses ethicæ* are much shorter than any of the other three; perhaps because there was less opportunity of discovering a talent for argumentation. Ethics had been treated of by all the ancient philosophers; but no notice whatever is taken of any system excepting that of Aristotle; and it must be confessed that Mr Reid has given a very good account of the opinions of his master upon this subject.

Those which are included under the head physics are by far the most imperfect. It ought more properly to be called the metaphysic of physics; for it contains discussions respecting the *materia prima*, motion, and time; and treated in such a way as bears not the least analogy to what we now annex to the word physics. According to the schoolmen, the rarefaction of air is ten times greater than that of water. This absurd opinion is defended. Rivers and lakes (it is said) could never be formed under the earth by the concretion of air; therefore, their generation must be referred to the sea, &c. The propositions under the head of astronomy, those of them, at least, that are of any value, are such as children are now taught, when they begin to receive lessons in geography. Aristotle is only once or twice referred to; the great authority being Sacraboscus (already mentioned), an Italian, whose work was read at this time in all protestant seminaries; and so much esteemed in Holland, that it was appointed to be

taught in all schools throughout the provinces. It was originally written in Italian, but was translated into Latin by Burgersdicius; and, therefore, sometimes goes by his name.

The theses of Mr King are of a very different kind. The general philosophical doctrines are no doubt the same; but they are delivered in a much more popular, and consequently useful, manner. He seems to have been much under the influence of religious principles, from the anxiety which he so frequently discovers to introduce such illustrations as had a tendency to lead the minds of the students that way. Such sentiments of Aristotle, also, as were contrary to the Christian system, or atheistical, as some of them doubtless were, he is careful to mark. His logical theses, particularly those for the year 1612, may be read with considerable advantage even at this day. They contain a brief popular view of Aristotle's logic. His physics (for, contrary to Reid's plan, they were discussed before ethics), his ethics, and astronomy, are much more ample; and, under the last particularly, a summary is given of all the knowledge which was then current respecting the subject; though it must be confessed, that a great deal of miscellaneous matter is introduced, unconnected with its title. He was acquainted with the works of Copernicus, whom he quotes; but whether he had seen those of Galileo is more uncertain. Some of the experiments, however, of that great philosopher, respecting vision, are alluded to by him.

In short, his course of philosophy appears to have been as much calculated to improve his students, as the imperfect state of science at the time would admit. He was a native of the north of Scotland; but took his degrees at Edinburgh, and became a regent in 1608. From the manner in which his pupils speak of him, he must have been an attentive teacher, and a very amiable man.

In some universities, the private trials, previous to being admitted to the degree of master of arts, are very superficial; and what is chiefly considered is, the length and regularity of attendance. The public disputations are a mere farce, and acknowledged to be such by those who ought to engage in them. If the time prescribed be attended to, and the candidate be present in the place appointed, nothing more is required. The case was very different, indeed, during the early stage of the history of the university of Edinburgh. The day appointed for conferring degrees was generally Monday, in order that the members of parliament and gentlemen of the law might have it in their power to attend; and, as has been already observed, a great proportion of them did honour the assembly with their presence. They met at an early hour; and, in the forenoon, the candidates were engaged in defending, or, as it was technically called, in *propugning*, the theses. After a short interval, they again assembled in the afternoon; and, as their weapons were equally adapted for attack and defence, they opposed or *impugned* them. To

engage in this enterprise before such an assembly, must have been a very serious business. I do not allude to the truth or falseness of the philosophy taught,—of the propriety or absurdity of the plan adopted,—but to the indispensible necessity of a thorough acquaintance with the subject, and, above all, to a ready elocution in the Latin language. Without the two last, no young man could make a respectable figure.

The business of the college had been interrupted, and, consequently, its prosperity materially impaired, by the very frequent change of masters. Almost any other literary employment was superior, in regard to emolument, to that of a regent. Until the year 1609, the principal's salary only amounted to four hundred pounds Scots, when it was increased to five hundred. Each of the four regents had, at this time, one hundred and fifty merks; and, when the principal received an augmentation, one hundred merks were added to the salaries of the two senior regents. Even this, however, constituted a very small income; so that it is not surprising that the greater number only remained for a very short time. They generally accepted of livings in the church; and as there were exceedingly few preachers, and many parishes vacant, they experienced no difficulty in procuring a better appointment. Messrs Young, Reid, King, and Fairley,* however, the four regents at this time, conti-

* I suspect this to have been the same person who was afterwards Bishop of the Isles.

nued in office for a considerable number of years; and, as they were fully competent for the discharge of their duty, and very diligent teachers, the number of students increased, and its reputation extended. To this, also, the long peace enjoyed under James contributed not a little.

James had succeeded to the throne of England in 1603.; and, after an interval of fourteen years, expressed his intention of visiting his native country. When this intelligence was first brought to Scotland, it produced a most wonderful sensation. The whole country unanimously expressed the greatest joy; and every one vied with another who should shew the monarch the greatest honour.* Recourse was had to every method which their ingenuity could devise, to prevent the king from relinquishing the idea of his projected journey. Addresses were presented from all quarters; and the poets of Scotland were emulous of each other, who should pronounce the best eulogy on his virtues. Adamson, who has been already mentioned, published a collection of these poems, which he called the "*Muses welcome to King "James VI.*" Besides a long poem, in English, by Drummond of Hawthornden, it contains those of Henry Anderson of Perth, a poet of no ordinary merit, Goldman, King, and Wedderburn, and many others, who exhausted all their powers of Latin versification to accomplish the same end. James, natu-

* An interesting account of his visit to Oxford, in 1605, is given in the Oxoniana, vol. i. p. 129.

rally fond of show, and very full of his own literary acquirements, was at all times delighted with the conversation of learned men. The university of Edinburgh, as has been already explained, owed its existence to him. When he returned, therefore, to his native city, it was natural for a man of his temper to inquire after its prosperity. He did so; but the multiplicity of his engagements prevented him from shewing the foundation that marked attention which it is evident he had intended. When he had repaired to Stirling, and was more at leisure, he signified his desire that a public disputation should be held in his presence. This was very speedily arranged; and the four regents of the college, together with the principal, immediately set out for Stirling, where the king, who was exceedingly fond of such adventures, anxiously waited their arrival. The regents disputed before him; and the king himself took a very active part in the discussion.* He seems to have been mightily pleased with the appearance which the professors made; and to have beheld, with no less self-gratulation, the part that he had acted in this drama. For, from the only account which we have of it, James spoke as much, if not more, than any one else. That he was excessively delighted with the interview, there can be no doubt; because, when the court removed to Paisley, immediately after, he, on the 25th

* Crawfurd gives an interesting account of this disputation, from p. 81 to 87. It is chiefly taken from Adamson's Muses, &c.

July 1617, addressed the following letter to the Magistrates of Edinburgh.—

"JAMES R.

"*Trustie and weill beloved, we greet zow weel.*

"Being sufficientlie perswadit of the guid beginning and progresse which ze haiff maid in repairing and building of zowr college, and of your commendable resolution constantlie to proceid and persist thairin till the same sall be perfytlie finished; for your better incouragement in a wark so universallie beneficial for our subjectis, and of such ornament and reputation for our citie in perticular, we haiff thocht guid, not only to declare our speciall approbation thairof, but lykewayes, as we gave the first being and beginning thairunto, so we have thocht it worthie to be honoured with oure name, of our awin imposition; and the raither, because of the late cair which, to our great content, wee ressaived of the guid worth and sufficiencie of the maisters thairof, at thair being with us at Stirling: In which regard, these are to desyre you, to order the said college to be callit in all tyme hereafter by the name of *King James' College;* which we intend for an speciall mark and an baidge of our favour toward the same.

"So wee doubting not but ze will accordinglie accept thairof, we bid zow heartilie fairweill."

His Majesty's letter was received by the Town Council with the most honourable marks of distinction; and it was resolved that the university should in all time coming be called "King James' College." I find that, after this, it is sometimes called *Regium Collegium*, or King's College; at other times *Academia Jacobi Regis;* and, on the titles of some of the theses, both are inserted. The king, who was certainly of a generous but inconsiderate temper, had promised what he called a "God bairne" gift. And that he fully purposed to confer some mark of his favour upon the university, cannot reasonably be doubted. So very discordant sentiments, however, have prevailed respecting the principles of this monarch, that it altogether depends upon the opinions we may have previously espoused respecting his character, whether we are to believe him to have been in earnest or not, when he promised to endow the college. He seems to have been so vain of the name, that it appears to be inconsistent with the known principles of human nature, to suppose that he could practise so much deceit upon himself, or think that he could pass it upon others. Besides, such finesse was altogether unnecessary. He had sufficient influence to procure the name, independently of any such promise; and he was best entitled to this honour, as it was founded by him.

An opinion has very generally prevailed in every age, that seminaries of learning require large funds, in order to enable them to fulfil the purposes of their

institution. A love of literature has induced some, religious principles a great many, whilst vanity, and sometimes worse motives, have incited others, to endow literary societies so amply, as to render the teachers independent of the discharge of their duty. How well-meaning soever such persons may be, it cannot be doubted, that, instead of promoting, it is the most effectual method of impeding, the progress of knowledge. It is unnecessary to subjoin, that James did not fulfil his promise; and perhaps the long continued increasing, and very early prosperity, of the university, may be ascribed to this as one chief cause. Long before the middle of the seventeenth century, there were upwards of three hundred students enrolled as members. A very sufficient proof of the ability and attention of the regents.

The presence of the king had the effect of reconciling all parties; and perhaps one principal cause of his undertaking such a journey was to accomplish this. The members of the university, in particular, were highly gratified with the distinguished marks of attention that had been shewn to them. In a short time, however, some degree of rivalship began to appear among the members. Principal Charteris, though a man of the most undoubted talents, was diffident to excess; and seems really to have possessed that amiable shyness of character, which renders a man to a certain degree unfit for the business of life. Mr Sands, who had just returned from the continent, and had seen much more of the ways of

men than Mr Charteris, seems to have aimed at being the head of the university. The ministers of the city had received an augmentation of stipend; and Mr Charteris, whose salary it was always understood was to be equal to theirs, applied also. This afforded a favourable opportunity for Mr Sands and his friends to propose to Mr Charteris the propriety of his accepting of a parochial charge; which he did in 1620, and became minister of North Leith.

Sands, by the advice of his patron, Lord Lothian, entered himself a member of the faculty of advocates, and proposed to follow the profession of the law. This not succeeding to his wishes, he was presented to the principality; but, as he was not a divine, it was necessary that some other person should be appointed to the chair of professor of divinity. The Reverend Andrew Ramsay was elected. The duties of principal and professor of theology were thus disjoined for the first time; and this arrangement has been adopted ever since.

Mr Ramsay, as we learn from his own poems, was the son of *David Ramsay of Balmain, and Katharine* Carnegie, of the *family of Kinnaird. When it was* determined to confer the title of knights baronets on some of the most distinguished of the Scotish families, his elder brother was among the very first who received that honour. He himself, most probably from inclination, preferred the church. From some allusions in his poems, he appears to have been educated at Marischall College, and to have formed

an intimate acquaintance with the celebrated Dr Arthur Johnstone, the poet, and Dr Duncan Liddel, the founder of the mathematical chair in that university. At a very early period, he discovered a great taste for poetry; and, in a short time, brought himself into notice. The year in which he first published his poems cannot be ascertained with accuracy. The earliest edition which I have seen is without a date; but it is dedicated to Charles I.; so that it must have been published after 1625. His poems which have been most esteemed are the *Creation*, the *Happiness of Man before the Fall*, *the Fall*, and *Redemption by Christ*. He has imitated the manner and the phraseology of Ovid in all of these poems, but especially in the first; and it must be confessed that he has executed his task with considerable ability. The vein of piety which pervades the whole, discovers the author to have been of a very devotional temper. His miscellanies were first published in 1633, the year in which Charles visited Scotland; and principally treat of topics connected with the Christian faith; to which are subjoined epigrams upon various subjects. It is principally from the last that we know any thing of his history, except the very active part which he took in the business of the assembly of the church. His age, and the gravity of his deportment, as well as his literary reputation, made him be much respected; and, in the records of the assembly, when it was found necessary to appoint committees to investigate

or to prepare any important business, before it came under the review of the court, Mr Ramsay is always first mentioned. He was afterwards minister of the Gray Friars Church; and, in 1638, he preached a sermon there, at the abjuration of popery by Thomas Abernethie, a jesuit. This sermon and recantation throw great light on the temper and manners of the times. The former affords ample testimony that he was well acquainted with the popish controversy; and the latter (his recantation was publicly delivered in the church) contains, as far as we can judge at this distance of time, a very candid confession of what he esteemed to be errors.

I am unable to say any thing of the nature or plan of his lectures. It is evident, from his writings, that he was a calvinist. Notwithstanding that the synod of Dort had met, and had discussed the general points of difference between the calvinistic and the arminian theories, they seem to have entered with very little ardour, in this country, upon the consideration of a controversy, which produced not only important religious but political consequences in Holland as well as in England.

Besides being admitted as professor of divinity, he was also invested with that of rector; and, in the records of the university, he, this year (1620), signed his name before the principal, when the students were enrolled. In a few years, however, he resigned his connexion with the college, probably in consequence of his being admitted as a minister of the

city. He never coalesced with the presbyterian party; and, accordingly, he was deposed by the assembly, which met at Edinburgh, in July 1649, for his attachment to the episcopal form of church government. He was then in the seventy-fifth year of his age. How long he survived this, I know not. A portrait of him is in the library.

Mr Sands enjoyed his principality for a very short time. The situation of affairs in Scotland must have rendered the performance of his public duty exceedingly irksome; and some of his contemporaries have affirmed, that his natural temper was too unaccommodating, to guide him to the adoption of such conciliating measures as the difficulty of his station required. The truth is, that, from the very foundation of the college, both principals and regents favoured, in a greater degree than many of their brethren, the modified episcopacy which had been proposed by James, but which he never could thoroughly establish. The people at large were attached to presbytery; and the animosities which generally prevailed throughout the nation, could hardly fail of being introduced into the university. Mr Sands gave in his resignation in 1622; and was succeeded in his office by Mr Robert Boyd of Trochriggs, in Carrick.

This person, whose father, James, was Archbishop of Glasgow from 1572 to 1578, was nearly related to the noble family of Kilmarnock, and was a man of considerable fortune. He had taught divinity in

the college of Saumur, and had been principal of the university of Glasgow for about seven years. He enjoyed his preferment in Edinburgh for a very short time only. The chief cause of his removal, was his opposition to the Articles of Perth, and to the episcopal party, though his cousin was at this time bishop of Argyle, a man of great weight and authority, and remarkably assiduous in the discharge of his duty. The principal was much esteemed for his moderation, in an age and country where that virtue was scarcely known; and had he been allowed to continue in office, he would have rendered the most essential service to the university, as an encourager of learning and learned men. He was a man of good abilities, and, like Ramsay, was a votary to the muses. The *Hecatombè ad Christum*, and the ode to Dr Sibbald, contain sufficient proofs that, if he had cultivated his talent for poetry with greater care and perseverance, he might have made a distinguished figure among the Latin poets of the age. The only other work acknowledged by him, with which I am acquainted, is a copious commentary upon the epistle to the Ephesians, composed after the fashion of the times. Many attempts were made in the general assembly to publish a complete edition of his works after his decease, under the sanction of the church; but none seem to have succeeded. It is probable that he left them as a legacy to the church, and had provided funds for their publication; but the distracted state of the nation, and the violent party

spirit which every where prevailed, rendered the scheme abortive. It is by no means unlikely that the manuscripts are in the possession of the church at this day.

The history of Principal Boyd reflects great disgrace upon James and his administration; and plainly discovers the jealousy which existed, and the resentment they were determined to shew to every person who opposed the measures of the court. It has been already observed, that the establishment of episcopacy in Scotland was one great object which the king had very much at heart. Many steps had been taken, which were evidently preparatory to this; but it was not till the year after he left Scotland, that the scheme was fully developed, or even publicly avowed. His treatment of the leaders of the presbyterian party, during his residence at Holyroodhouse, was sufficiently discouraging, and augured nothing favourable to their cause. It rather indicated a determination to follow up with greater rigour the measures which had been pursued from the year 1599, but particularly ever since he had ascended the English throne.* Accordingly, in the assembly which met at Perth, in August 1618, five articles were proposed for their adoption, and were carried without reasoning. These were, kneeling at the sacrament; the observance of five holy days, (viz. the nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension of

* *Vid.* Calderwood, Ap. An.

Christ, and the descent of the Holy Ghost); private baptism; the private administration of the sacrament; and confirmation. It was universally believed, by the opposers of episcopacy, that these articles were only introductory to others; and that those which were supposed to be the least objectionable in the estimation of the people at large, were proposed first. Though no opposition was made, at the assembly, to their passing into a law, yet they produced a great ferment throughout the nation. Among others, Mr Boyd, who had resided among French protestants* for a considerable number of years, and had imbibed their strong antipathy to the introduction of ceremonies of every description, had not concealed his disapprobation of the articles, and that he was determined not to conform. The conduct of one in so public a station as principal of the university of Glasgow, the seat of an archbishopric, could not pass unobserved; but it does not appear that any public notice was taken of his opposition while he remained there. He no sooner, however, removed to Edinburgh, than persecution began to assail him. His fame at Glasgow, both as a popular preacher, and a lecturer on divinity in that college, was widely extended. Sir William Nisbet of the Dean, who had taken the greatest interest in the prosperity of the college of Edinburgh, having bestowed upon it eleven hundred pounds Scots, had been elected Lord Provost of the city

* He became professor of divinity at Saumur in 1609 (*vid.* Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. p. 332), and principal of Glasgow College in 1615.

about the beginning of October; and, upon the 19th of the same month, Mr Boyd was chosen principal.

"Upon the 13th of December 1622," (says Calderwood, in his history, p. 799, &c.) "the Provost, Bailliffs, and Council of Edinburgh, were challenged, "by a letter from the king, for admitting Mr Robert Boyd, who had been many years a professor "at Saumer, in France, and here at home, of late at "Glasgow, to be principal of their college; and "commanded them to urge him to conform, or else "to remove him. They sent to court to the courtier, "who sent the challenge in the king's name, and "desired him to intreat his majesty not to take in "evil part Mr Robert's admission, in respect of his "gifts and peaceable disposition. Upon the last of "Januar, the Magistrats and Council of Edinburgh "were commanded of new again to urge Mr Robert Boyd with conformitie; and, if he refused, to "remove him, his wife, and familie, out of the town. "The King's words, answering to their former letter of recommendation, were these following: *On "the contrarie, we think his biding there will do much "evil; and, therefore, as ye will answer to us on your "obedience, we command you to put him, not only from "his office, but out of your town, at the sight hereof, "unless he conform totally. And when ye have done, "think not this sufficient to satisfy our wrath for disobedience to our former letter.** Mr Robert was

* Sir William Nisbet was Provost for one year only. Could this be owing to his partiality to Mr Boyd?

"sent for to the council; and the king's will was in-
"timat to him, which they professed they would not
"withstand. Mr Robert did quite his place, and
"took his leave. The ministers of Edinburgh envied
"him for his not conformitie, and the applause he
"had for his gifts, both in pulpit and schools; but
"especially Mr Andrew Ramsey, because sundrie
"noblemen, lawyers, and countrey ministers, who
"came upon occasion to the town, resorted frequent-
"ly to his lessons in the schooles, and sermons in the
"kirk, who did not the like to him, when he taught
"in the same colledge, and was now preaching in
"the same kirk. When the Bishop of St Andrews,
"at a conference with the ministers of Edinburgh,
"was commending them for the harmonie that was
"among them, Mr Andrew Ramsey answered, But
"there is one string out of tune; meaning Mr Ro-
"bert Boyd." He was afterwards confined within the bounds of Carrick.

The treatment which this excellent and learned man received, shews how eager the government was for the complete establishment of episcopacy; with what unrelenting severity those who opposed it were persecuted; and in how degraded a state were liberty of conscience and the rights of the subject in the reign of James. When the king visited Glasgow, in 1617, Boyd, as principal of the college, delivered a congratulatory speech, which is of course encomiastic; but, what is very singular, he introduced into it a panegyric on Archbishop Law, who then held

that see.* From this, I am inclined to infer, that his sentiments respecting the hierarchy had undergone a change, sometime between 1617 and 1622; yet, as Law was a man of moderate principles, and exemplary in his conduct, the generosity of Boyd's nature might induce him to give the archbishop the most ample credit for his virtues, and his prudence in the administration of the business of his diocese, though they could not agree as to the propriety of establishing episcopacy in Scotland. Boyd's poems, as well as Ramsay's, are inserted in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum.* There is a portrait of him in the library, together with one of his cousin Alexander, who was also a poet, and by far the most general scholar which Scotland produced in that age.

The factions in the church at this time, and which were a direct consequence of the reformation, how much soever they might disconcert the government, and occasion great uneasiness to those who took an active part in the discussions which were agitated, never prevented, in the smallest degree, the students from resorting to the university. The interests of learning were zealously and most successfully regarded by the patrons of the institution. About this time, Mr Andrew Young was appointed professor of mathematics, and Mr James Reid professor of metaphysics.

* *Vid.* Muses Welcome, p. 240, &c.

In the dark ages, little or no attention was paid to mathematical science, any more than to any other branch of useful knowledge. Our love of literature is an inheritance which we derive from nature; but favourable circumstances alone can enable us to gratify that passion. At the revival of learning, Greek and Roman philology engaged the attention of philosophers*; and it required a considerable time before their speculations were directed to the important facts or theories which were to be found in the works of the ancients. The writings of the Greek mathematicians had been allowed to remain in the same state of obscurity in which they had been for ages. A knowledge, however, of the language, together with the diagrams which the manuscripts contained, induced men of genius, whose studies had been directed that way, to prosecute this most interesting of all sciences. The certainty, however, which is annexed, and is justly annexed, to the conclusions of geometry and algebra, ought rather to be ascribed to the symbols employed, or to the accuracy of the technical language, than to any attribute appertaining to *quantity*, which cannot be predicated of any other object of philosophical disquisition.

The system of Aristotle, respecting the theory of the universe, had succeeded in exploding the small fragment of truth which was contained in the Pythagorean philosophy. The bold, but just views, which Copernicus had formed of the phenomena of the

heavens, and the simple solution which his theory afforded to difficulties that were inexplicable upon any other hypothesis, in the course of time, introduced it to the notice of speculative men, and, consequently, gave it access to the schools. Speculative mathematics exercised the ingenuity of philosophers; but it must be confessed, that comparatively little attention was paid to this science, until Lord Napier, by the discovery of logarithms, communicated new energy to its cultivation in Scotland, as well as throughout the rest of Europe.

From the theses published by Mr Young, there is no reason to doubt that, if he was not better qualified to teach, he had, at least, a greater taste for, and more knowledge of, natural philosophy; and that a greater portion of the time of the course was spent in considering these subjects by him, than by any of the other regents. Though he was nominally professor of mathematics, in consequence of which, his salary was doubled, the other professors pursued the same plan as formerly; neither was he required to spend the whole of his time in teaching this science, for he still carried on the business of his ordinary class. It seems probable, however, that he gave some instructions in elementary geometry and trigonometry; for, upon the 17th August 1621, the Town Council paid for a quadrant, from London, for the professor of mathematics. It had been sent to Lord Napier by his friend Mr Briggs. Though his Lordship was now worn out with age and infirmities, his

ardour for the promotion of science had suffered no diminution. He presented it to the college, upon condition that the necessary expences of bringing it to Scotland were defrayed. He died in the course of the subsequent year. Upon the whole, no evidence remains to prove that any great progress had been made in pure geometry; and as for algebra, notwithstanding the illustrious examples of Cardan and others, in the preceding century, it was not taught at all. The principles of arithmetic, and, perhaps, the construction of logarithms, formed part of the course. In 1619, Mr Fairley's pupils had *Theses Sphæricæ* for the subjects of disputation.

Whether a separate class was appropriated to Mr Reid, to which he was to deliver lectures on metaphysics, is unknown. At the graduation of Mr King's students, in 1620, metaphysical theses were disputed. The two senior regents had received an additional salary of two hundred and fifty merks, and the two junior one hundred. It is probable, therefore, that the long established method still continued in operation.

The reprimand which the patrons had received from the king, in regard to Mr Boyd, made them diffident in appointing a successor. In short, the university was without a principal for about ten months. When a new Provost and Council were chosen, who were much more disposed to coalesce with the measures of government, they proceeded to elect a successor; and Mr John Adamson, minister

of Libberton, in the vicinity of Edinburgh, who had been regent in the college for seven years, and discharged the duties of the office with approbation, was chosen. He was, at the same time, admitted one of the ministers of the city, and was colleague to Mr Andrew Ramsay in the Gray Friars.

The episcopal party had the sole appointment to all offices both in church and state. It is not probable, therefore, that Mr Adamson had been hostile to the measures of the court, more especially as Mr Clerk, who had been lately elected Lord Provost, was well known to have warmly espoused that cause. I have only seen three works of Principal Adamson's. He collected and published the poems which compose the "*Muses Welcome;*" and this, to one of James' disposition, was no slender recommendation, and perhaps constituted one chief cause of his preferment. His "*Musarum votum et vaticinium,*" published in 1620, and dedicated to the Earl of Melross, President of the Court of Session, conveys no great idea of his talents as a poet, and is full of very ill disguised flattery; though perhaps circumstances, with which we are now unacquainted, may have rendered it palatable to the one party to receive, and not ridiculous in the other to offer. The Catechism which he published for the benefit of the schools of the city of Edinburgh, as well as for the behoof of the university, is very superficial; and it is difficult to determine what were his opinions respecting some of the peculiar doctrines of revelation. Perhaps it was composed

after such a manner, as not to afford cause of disgust to either of the two parties into which the Scotish protestants were then and still are divided.

Adamson seems to have been of a very active mind, and very expert in the management of business. The ordinary detail of the studies at the university proceeded in their usual course; and it is only justice to say, that he was most assiduous in the discharge of his public duty. From the records of the college, it appears, that Spottiswood, the archbishop of St Andrews, had entertained a high opinion of him, and had approved of the manner in which he conducted the affairs of the college. Whether it was at his instigation or not, it is now impossible to ascertain; but the following minute is extracted from the records of the university.*

"*Edinburgh, the third day of December one thou-*
"*sand six hundred and twenty-eight years.*

"The which day, David Aikenhead of Kilquhis, "provost, John Sinclare, Archibald Tod, Edward "Forquhar, and Alexander Heriot, baillies; John "MacKnaught, dean of gild; David MacKall, the-"saurer; John Byres, George Suittie, Thomas "Charters, Peter Blaikburn, James Rea, Alexander

* The regulations which are inserted in the text were compiled in 1627. They remained in the principal's hands, but were not inserted in the College Register till the following year; probably, that they might receive the approbation of the Town Council.—Crawf p. 112.

"Monteith, John Nairn, Charles Hamilton, mer-
"chands; Laurence Cockburn, chirurgeon; John
"Ormiston, scheirsmith; together with the deacons
"of craft, Andrew Scott of the chirurgeons; Adam
"Lamb of the goldsmiths; James Tweedie of the
"skinners; and David Murray of the furriers, of
"the council, being conveened in council, having
"intirely considered and advised the lawes under
"written, made anent the government and order to
"be keeped in the colledge, as well be the masters
"and regents, as the scholars, and others, bursars;
"has ordained the same to be keeped and observed in
"all time coming, and to be registrate in the books
"of council, that they may have the strength of an
"act thereof: whereof the tenour follows,"*

The plan which was prescribed in regard to the books to be read, and the subjects upon which lectures were to be delivered, exactly corresponded with what has been before mentioned. The private arrangements of the university, however, were now formed into a system; and the following is a literal translation of those regulations.

The Order of Examinations.

The first class was examined by the three regents. One examined on prose, another on poetry, and a third on dialectics. And this trial not to be confin-

* Appendix, No. III.

ed to those passages which were publicly read in the class, but should be extended to those which had been prepared in private. The second class, in like manner, was examined upon what they heard in the former year. The first examinator tried their skill in Porphyry's Introduction, and the Categories *De Singulis;* the second exercised them in the book *De Interpretatione*, and the former analytics; and the third on the Topics, and the *Elenchi Sophistici*.

Having finished this examination, the highest class was interrogated concerning all that they had heard prelected on in Aristotle; each of the three regents of the inferior classes proceeding after this manner. The first regent examined on the common part of logic. The second, on the latter analytics. The third, on the Topics, and the *Sophisticæ Captiones*. In the second *vice*, the first regent examined in the books of the Acroasis; the second on the other three; and the third on ethics. In the end of the year, before laureation, they were examined by four regents, the professor of humanity being joined to the former three; and each of the four regents were to examine all the students twice. On the first trial, the first of the four regents examined on the common part of logic; the second, on the demonstration; the third, on the Topics, and the *Sophistici Elenchi;* the fourth, on ethics. In the second trial, the first examined on the common part of physics; the second, on the books of the heavens,

and the sphere; the third, *de ortu, de meteoris;* and the fourth, *de anima.*

Before these examinations of the candidates took place, the principal was to inform the town council that they might send persons, who, together with the principal, should exact from each of the examinators an oath *de fideli administratione*, that they will impartially prescribe to each the degree of honour which they deserve at the public laureation; and bind the candidates by an oath, that they shall each be content with that degree and place which shall be assigned to them by the principal and the examinators. And that whoever shall behave in an improper manner, and discover incapacity at the public graduation, shall be forthwith expelled, and not obtain a degree.

The Duties of the Regents and Hebdomadar.

When the regents have, in the morning, commended themselves and their students to God in prayer, they are to read out the lesson; and be careful that all the students confer, in their own companies (into which they were divided), concerning what was prescribed. If a sufficient portion had not been read in the morning, more was prescribed at ten o'clock. During the remainder of the time, the students either conferred or disputed in their *companies.* At mid-day, they attended on the students, in order to hold a conference, or to dispute,

till four. At six, an examination commenced. But, on days set apart for recreation and play, the students went to the fields at two; they returned at four; and then were examined at six. But, in summer, they held their conferences concerning the lectures till three; from three to four, they were examined by the regent; and, from four to six, were permitted to take exercise in the fields.

On Saturday, each of the regents held disputations in his own class; in winter, from seven A. M. and, in summer, from six till nine, and to be similarly employed from ten till twelve. But, in the public disputations of the three classes, the regents presided in the public schools by turns. At mid-day, they were employed in disputation, or otherwise, as the regent thought proper.

On Sunday, having concluded their reading in private, at the ringing of the second bell, they went to church, the four regents going before, and the hebdomadar following. At the conclusion of the service, they returned in order to the schools, and an account was taken by the regent of the discourse they had heard, and of what they had read in the morning. Being dismissed at five o'clock, the regents assembled in the hebdomadar's chamber, in order to relate what instances of want of discipline they had observed upon the preceding Sunday, that they might be speedily corrected, and might stimulate one another to the discharge of their duty, and take care to employ every method to withdraw the

students from a breach of discipline, and incite them to piety, and the prosecution of their studies. The duty of hebdomadar was to be discharged by turns; and was included under the following regulations: 1. When the students assembled in the public hall, he was to take care that there was no confusion or tumult, and that the same regularity should be observed at the dismission. 2. At the hours of assembling, immediately upon a signal being given, to visit the classes, and take care that the students should diligently apply to their studies. 3. On holidays, to accompany the students to the fields, to attend them there, and to collect them when it was time to return to study; and also to report to the masters the names of those who were marked absent by the censor. 4. To observe and report the behaviour of the students at the public lectures which they must all attend. 5. To call the regents to him at five o'clock on Sundays, and lay before them what fault he has observed in any class or student, that it may be corrected by the master; and, if the interference of the principal be necessary, to give intimation of it to him; so that, by the advice of all the masters, any injury which the university might sustain from bad example may be speedily corrected. 6. Likewise, in the absence of the *primar*, to say prayers at the dismission of the university. To take care that the regents be attentive to their duty, especially that they do not absent themselves in the time of public prayers, or public duty of the college;

that no regent be absent, even for one day, without obtaining leave from the principal; and that no one be absent two days, without liberty from the Town Council; and also that his class should be properly attended to in his absence. It is also his business to take care that no regent cause his students, in his absence, or when present, to be instructed by any one who shall read notes to them from a book; and that all the regents conduct themselves reverently and respectfully toward the principal, as being set over them by the Town Council.

The Session to commence on the 1st of October.

The duty of the principal consisted in calling the regents to him without delay, at the conclusion of the vacation, that they might return to the discharge of their duty, and deliberate upon what might be most for the advantage of the university, what new regulations ought to be adopted with respect to its discipline; and he was to do this, not only at the beginning of the session, but at whatever time he considered it necessary. Also, to admonish the beneficiaries, the janitor, and all the office-bearers of the university, to see that the students perform their exercises, and to visit the classes when there was occasion; and if any of the students were found guilty of obstinacy, or rebellion against their preceptor, to correct and chastise them, so that others might be taught reverence and obedience,—to punish great offences in the public schools, before the regents and

the whole students,—to say prayers in the public hall at six o'clock in winter, and in summer at four afternoon. Upon Wednesday, at three P. M. when the students assembled in the common hall, he read a portion of Scripture, and instructed them in the duties of piety; examined the censors concerning the order which had been observed in each class during the preceding week, and appointed new censors. He also superintended the matriculation; and took care that the intrants solemnly promised obedience to the discipline of the university, and to each of the masters.

The professor of divinity was enjoined to instruct his students in the method of acquiring a knowledge of divinity,—what ought to be read first, what next, and in what they ought chiefly to exercise themselves. On Tuesday and Friday, between eleven and twelve, he delivered a public lecture; on Monday, he was to be present at an exercise of the students, composed in their own language. He was to take care that, upon every Thursday, one of the students should privately, and in Latin, make trial of his skill in some theological theme, both by teaching and sustaining *theses*, the professor himself presiding. He was also to teach Hebrew once in the week.

The Duties of the Students.

On Sundays, at seven in the morning, they were to hear the Scriptures read in their own classrooms; at the second ringing of the bell, they were to proceed to church with becoming mo-

desty and gravity; and there to engage in prayer and singing of psalms, and hearing sermon, with all reverence. The assembly being dismissed, after mid-day, the students all returned with the regents to the university, and gave an account of what they had read and heard. On Wednesday, at three o'clock, they assembled in the public hall, to hear a divinity lecture; and, when they met for public evening prayers, no noise nor tumult was allowed. When they repaired to the schools in the morning, they were enjoined first to worship God; and no one was to enter upon his studies without having first implored the grace and assistance of God. All the students were required to be in the schools by six in winter, and five in summer, and attend lecture till nine; note down what they heard; and, in divisions arranged by the teacher, were to compare and repeat what was taught. From ten, when not attending lecture, they were to be engaged in conference, repetition, or disputation, till twelve; and were to be employed after the same manner (excepting on holidays) from half after one till six. On Saturday, it was a holiday after three P. M.; and, on Tuesday and Thursday, from noon till four in winter, and from four in summer. This pastime, however, was to be spent in the company of the masters; and was only intended for relaxation of the mind, and bodily exercise. No one was expected to be seen sauntering on the streets, or entering at any time alehouses or taverns. On Saturday, all the classes were to dispute, at an early hour, in their own class-rooms.

From the beginning of February to the 1st of July, the magistrands were to dispute with the bachelors in the school of the magistrands; and the opponents, selected by the regents, were to be employed in this exercise, in their turn, from five to six.

From the middle of January to the second Saturday of July, the three philosophy classes were to dispute from ten till two every Saturday, in the public hall,—each of the classes proposing a theses in their turn. The regents presided; and the whole business to be conducted in the presence of him who presided for the time. But the other classes were to repeat, dispute, and hear lectures, upon the same day. Every student must provide himself with a Latin Testament, a Catechism, and an English Psalter, besides the books necessary for the daily lectures.

Impious, offensive, and obscene conversation, was not permitted. Those who profaned the name of God, who were guilty of swearing or indelicate conversation, were to be severely chastised. The admonitions of the regents were to be regarded with submission. The conversation was to be in Latin alone; and, at the same time, chaste, respectful, pious, and discreet, free but not contentious. The greatest attention and labour was to be bestowed upon their studies. No one was to interrupt the studies of another. No one was to enter the schools or bedchambers of another. Nor was any one (excepting the censors) to listen at the doors of others.

None were to be absent from the university, nor

even to go without the gate, without the permission of the master. No one was to go without the threshold of his own school, without leave from the regent, or, in his absence, from the censor. When liberty has been obtained, the student must return immediately, and upon no pretext whatever to remain beyond the time. Let every one be an example of piety, probity, modesty, and diligence in his studies, as becomes the disciples of Christ. Let no one teaze another by word or deed, or gesture, nor do an injury, or shew contempt. Let quarrels, railings, and improper language, be avoided by all. Let every one admonish his companion in an affectionate and friendly manner, as becomes a Christian, when he perceives him neglecting his duty, or doing any thing contrary to it; and if admonished, he does not reform, he is to represent him to his superiors. No one who is injured is to take revenge himself; but either to complain to the principal, or to the regent whose class he attends. Let no one pass or address those who are deserving of respect in an irreverent manner, as magistrates, clergymen, old men, or such as are eminent for learning, virtue, or authority. Let every one conduct himself gravely, modestly, and respectfully, as becomes students. Let them avoid the company and conversation of the bad. Let no one wear a sword or a dagger, nor walk on the streets in the evening. The area of the college was to be kept clean, and the buildings not to be abused;

and the authors of rebellion and sedition to be expelled from the university.

The duties of the bursars are next detailed. These consisted in ringing the bell at the stated hours, and to clean, with a spade and brush, the steps leading to the class-rooms.

The janitor was constantly to wait at the gate,—to open and shut the class-rooms at the stated hours,—to shut the gate of the college at ten at night, and to open it in good time in the morning,—to light the candles and lanterns in the portico, and in both the upper and lower galleries,—to sweep the schools thrice every week, and to keep the area clean,—to take care that the buildings be not out of repair,—and, if any part of them have fallen into that state, he is required to give immediate information to the principal and regents, that it may be repaired.

For the sake of brevity, I decline entering upon a formal criticism of these numerous regulations. They display, in the fullest manner, the internal economy of the university, and bear the strongest resemblance to what had been practised for ages in monastic institutions. They continued to be read publicly, in the hall, by the principal, in the presence of all the students, at the beginning of the session, so long as they lodged in the college.

As far as is now known, the business of the university, as conducted by the regents, had proceeded

in the most amicable manner; and it seemed to be the anxious endeavour of every one to contribute his assistance towards promoting the prosperity of the institution. Such is the frailty of human nature, however, that misunderstandings and petty jealousies, upon occasions in themselves very frivolous, have been introduced into the best regulated societies. Something of this kind took place in the college in the year 1625, which induced the patrons to interfere, and regulate "the place and precedence among "the regents; and the same to be kept in time com-"ing." The minute is as follows,—

"The Counsell, understanding that their has not "been ordour taken anent the places of the four "regents of philosophie and the regent of humani-"tie, in thair college: Thairfore, for settling of good "ordour in the said college in tyme coming, and "whereby the new intrants may hereafter better "know thair places, and governe thaimselves, leist "thair exemple of controversies amongst theme "sould give occasion of scandal to the scollers, has "thocht meitt and expedient, and be thir presents "statute and ordaine, that, in all tyme coming, the "oldest regent amongst the foure regents of philo-"sophie sall haive the first plaice and precedency; "and so furth amongst theme, according to the tyme "thay haive been regents in the said college; and "that, notwithstanding four regents of philosophie, "the said regent of humanitie sall haive plaice, so "that the haill four regents of philosophie sall haive "plaice and precedencie before the regent of hu-

"manitie; and ordains this ordour to be keipit "amongst the regents in all tyme coming.

"The principall and baille five regents, being con- "veinit and compeirand this day, the said ordinance "was intimate to them, who promised to observe the "same in all tyme coming."—*9th December* 1625.

It has been already mentioned, that Mr Ramsay did not continue long connected with the university. The reason of his giving in his demission, is not known. He had proffered it in the preceding year; but the patrons prevailed upon him to undertake his academical duty for another session; from which it may be inferred, that it proceeded from no misunderstanding with the magistracy. His taking this step rendered it necessary that a rector of the university and a professor of divinity should be elected. It had been resolved that the two offices should not be united in the same person; and that, as the former (if the duties of it were properly discharged) nearly concerned the interest of the college, they determined first to elect a rector. The council, in terms of their charter, consulted the ministers of the city; and these two together, upon 5th January 1626, elected Mr Alexander Morison of Prestongrange, one of the Lords of Session.* This person was a native of the city, and had the reputation of

* He was admitted to the bar in 1604, and created a judge in 1626, a short time after his election to the rectorate. He died in 1652, and was succeeded by the celebrated Scot of Scotstarvet.—*Vid.* Lord Hailes' Catalogue.

great learning. He took the oath *de fideli administratione*; but interfered very little in the business of the university.

Some difficulty attended the appointment of a successor to the divinity chair. Parties were very high both in church and state; and the country, through these divisions, was very unsettled. It was, therefore, of importance that a person should be fixed upon of a mild temper, whose conduct and principles were known to correspond with those of the ruling party. The favourers of episcopacy had at this time the sway. And there was not a member of the town council, a minister of the city, nor a master in the college, who had not espoused the same cause. They invited Mr Henry Charteris, who, as has been already mentioned, had held the principality for twenty years, and was at this time minister in North Leith. He accepted of the invitation, but died two years afterwards.

I have, in the former part of this history, slightly alluded to Mr Charteris' character. He was a man of the most simple and unaffected manners; of so great modesty, that he shrunk from every public appearance; of distinguished piety; master of the philosophy of the times; and had, both as a regent, principal, and professor of divinity, acquitted himself with honour, and had been beloved by all. He was connected with the college for thirty-two years. He entered upon his studies under Rollock, the very first session that the institution was open. It

for instruction; took his degree, with applause, in 1587; and died in the sixty-third year of his age.

Upon his decease, a violent contest commenced respecting the successorship. Though the episcopal party possessed the sole nomination to all offices of trust or emolument, and were perfectly agreed or reconciled to that form of church government, they differed essentially upon some of the speculative doctrines of christianity. The bold opinions which James Herman (who, after the fashion of the times, latinized his name, and is better known by that of *Arminius*), professor of divinity at Leyden, had vented, excited a ferment almost instantaneously throughout the whole of Holland; and, when aided by the learning, the philosophical acuteness, and eloquence of Episcopius, then an obscure clergyman in the country, they spread throughout the protestant world. Notwithstanding the effects which history has recorded to have universally accompanied the convocation of general councils, and though that of Trent, which had been so lately dissolved, was before their eyes, almost all the protestant countries in Europe cherished the idle fancy, that an assembly, consisting of deputies from those European churches that had seceded from Rome, had it in their power to compose the differences. But very opposite consequences ensued. Many of the deputies changed their sentiments;* and returned

* In particular, the celebrated and *ever memorable* John Hale of Eaton, who was one of the deputies from the Church of England

from the synod of Dort; which had assembled in 1617, thoroughly persuaded of the truth of the system of Arminius, and became apostles in spreading them in their native country. Laud had warmly espoused the same sentiments, though they had been condemned by the synod; and, in the true spirit of a bigot, would patronize none who held the opposite set of opinions. The debates of the synod had been published; and, when the minority were assisted by Laud, it need not excite surprise if the tide of popularity soon turned in their favour. Laud's influence with the king had become so great, that it was powerfully felt in Scotland, as well as in England. The two most ambitious of the clergy of Edinburgh, at that time, were Thomas Sydserf and John Maxwell.* The former, for his zeal, was first preferred to the see of Brechin; then to that of Galloway; and, after being deposed by the presbyterians in 1638, was, at the restoration, made bishop of Orkney. He is represented, by both parties, as a man of moderate talents. Maxwell was a man of learning, and of very good abilities; but the greatest admirers of Charles' policy, frankly allow that he meddled too much with civil affairs; and that he was one great occasion of the troubles that followed.

to the Synod of Dort, says of himself,—that when he had heard the speech of Episcopius, he bade good night to John Calvin.—*Vid.* his works.

* *Vid.* Burnet's character of him, Mem. of Ham. p. 31.

He was created Bishop of Ross, as a reward for his labours; and was also deposed by the assembly.*

These two individuals, assisted by others of less note, were determined to exert all their influence that the Arminian system should be taught in the university. For this purpose, they had selected a Mr Robert Monteith as a fit successor to Mr Charteris. This person was a native of the city, and had received his education at the college of Edinburgh, and had taught philosophy for some time in the college of Saumur in France. This had increased his reputation; and it was well known that he was attached to Arminianism, though the reformed churches in France had incorporated the canons of the synod of Dort with their own.† His friends had the interest to form a party in his favour in the council; but Messrs Ramsay, Struthers, and Rollock, ministers of the town, who were Calvinists, but had complied with episcopacy, vigorously opposed his admission; and at last succeeded in getting Mr James Fairley appointed upon 24th July 1629; but so keen was the contest, that it was only during the council's will. Monteith was afterwards minister of Duddingston, which he left, in consequence of some im-

* *Vid.* Appendix to Spottiswood's History, p. 12. Besides his bishopric, he was Lord of the Secret Council, a Lord of Exchequer, and an Extraordinary Lord of Session; and aspired to be Lord High Treasurer, upon Morton's demission.—Steven. Ch. Hist. vol. i. p. 146. Burnet's Mem. of the Duke of Hamilton, p. 30.

† Quick's Synod. vol. ii. p. 37.

morality, and repaired to France, assumed another name, that of M. Salmonet, and became a Roman Catholic.* Fairley was considered to be a man of abilities. He had been regent in the college for eighteen years, and then minister of North Leith. His election to the divinity chair seems to have been merely a temporary expedient, probably to prevent

* The following singular history of Monteith is extracted from the Statistical Account of the parish of Duddingston.

"About the period of the overthrow of the monarchy, or prior to the restoration, the parson of Duddingston (the episcopal form then prevailed) was named Monteith. Having been so unmindful of his character and office, as to engage in an illicit amour with a lady of rank in the neighbourhood, he found himself necessitated to fly from the scene of his disgrace and degradation. He repaired to France; and immediately applied for employment to the celebrated Richelieu. He told him that he was of the Monteith family in Scotland. The cardinal remarked, that he was well acquainted with the Monteiths; and desired to know to what branch of the family he pertained. The exiled parson, whose father had been a plain fisherman in the salmon trade of the Forth, somewhere above Alloa, readily answered, that he was of the Monteiths of Salmon-net. Richelieu acknowledged that he had not heard of that branch; but admitted, with becoming candour, that, notwithstanding his ignorance, it might be a very illustrious family. He received Monteith to his patronage, and soon advanced him to be his secretary; in which situation he wrote and published some essays, which were admired in that age, as specimens of the remarkable purity of stile and facility of diction to which a foreigner could attain in the French language. His chief work was, "La Histoire des Troubles de la Grande Bre-"tagne Depuis," &c. par J. M. de Salmonet. A. Paris: The first edition without a date, probably 1672."—Statist. Acc. vol. xviii. p. 378.

Monteith's admission, because he resigned his office in about a year afterwards, in favour of Mr John Sharp, and was appointed one of the city ministers. Through the interest of the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Traquair, who had been his pupil at the university, he obtained the bishopric of Argyle,* from which he was ejected in 1638. In 1643, he was received by the assembly, and retired to a private charge.

I profess to be quite unable to account for the circumstance of the appointment of Dr John Sharp to the profession of divinity. The episcopal party do not appear to have relaxed in the smallest degree their favourite plan of conformity; and there is no evidence that Sharp had retracted, or even apologized for his former zeal in the cause of presbytery. It is exceedingly probable, however, that he did so, or gave some security that he would withdraw his opposition to the measures pursued by the court. Dr Sharp had been minister of Kilmany when a very young man, and entered very warmly into the views of the popular party. He was present at the assembly which met at Aberdeen in July 1605, and acted as clerk;† which, in those hazardous times, is a

* Stevenson relates, that on 8th August 1637, the day of his consecration, "he had a great treat for certain of the nobles and bishops, "within his own lodgings in the city, when, the house taking fire, "dinner was spoiled, the jollity of the occasion marred, and the "neighbours put in great fear."—Hist. of Church of Scot. vol. i. p. 152. This was esteemed an unfavourable omen in that tumultuous period. He enjoyed his preferment about a year.

† Calderwood, p. 492.

sufficient intimation that he was esteemed as a man of talents, and sincerely attached to the cause.

The wavering and inconstant temper of James was strikingly illustrated in his behaviour on this occasion. He first appointed the assembly to meet at Aberdeen in July 1604; but, by a new order, he adjourned it to July 1605; and again it was prorogued to an uncertain day. A small number of the commissioners assembled at Aberdeen upon the day appointed. They transacted no business; but only met and *constituted*; they called the roll; and continued the diet, for the preservation of their privileges; and appointed their next meeting to be at the same place in September following. This presumption, as James viewed it, so irritated him, that the Lord High Commissioner was ordered to prohibit the meeting, under pain of rebellion. Accordingly, the conduct of government, in regard to the persons who composed this assembly, was exceedingly harsh and cruel. Vengeance was not taken upon all the members; but the most rigorous severity was shewn to those who were considered as leaders. Besides Messrs Forbes, Welsch, and others, who were the most refractory, and, at the same time, the most popular preachers of the party, Dr Sharp also was sent a prisoner to Blackness Castle, because, says Calderwood, "they "would not condemne the assemblie at Aberdeen, "by their privat judgements." Petrie's account of this transaction is as follows. "In the beginning of "October, the king's will was declared unto a con-

"vention of the nobility at Lithgow, that the six "condemned ministers should be banished out of "his dominions for all their daies; and the other "eight should be confined, some in one place, and "some in another, within the country, remote from "their former dwellings, and some into isles several-"ly. And a proclamation was published, that if any "should hereafter offend in such a high trespasse, "they should be punished with all severity, and the "death due unto traitours should be inflicted upon "them with all rigour; and all ministers were in-"hibited, either in their sermons or prayers, to re-"commend the persons that were so sentenced. "John Forbes went to Middleburgh, where he was "minister unto the English staple; Robert Dury "was minister of an English congregation in Ley-"den; John Welsh went to Bordeaux, where he "learned the language so quickly, that, within one "year, he was chosen minister of a French church; "and John Sharp became minister and professour of "divinity at Die, in the Delphinate, where he wrote "*Cursus Theologicus, et Symphonia Prophetarum et* "*Apostolorum.* After a year, Andrew Duncan and "Alexander Strachan purchased liberty to return "into their former places."*

In 1626, Sharp's name is mentioned in the catalogue of all the churches reformed in France. "John "Scharpius, a Scotsman, was minister of La Mote,

* Petrie, Hist. of the Church, p. 581.

with the colloquy of Diois, and provincial synod of Dolphiny, at that time." * It is probable that he returned in 1630.

The distracted state of public affairs in Scotland, at that time, could not fail to injure materially the cause of literature. The clergy and laity were divided into two great parties, whose religious and political principles were widely different. Those who favoured the most moderate measures, and were of the most peaceable dispositions, could not follow such a course, so as not to interfere with either one or other of the factions. The business of the college seems to have proceeded, however, without much interruption. Several changes, in regard to the masters, took place from time to time, which need not be specified.

When Adamson was advanced to the principality, he shewed the greatest anxiety to improve the means of instruction which were afforded to the youth; and he was fortunate enough to be seconded in his laudable endeavours by the members of the Town Council. It was with this intention that he wrote and published his Catechism. The patrons were at the expence of printing it.† It has been already mentioned, that a new professorship of metaphysics had been endowed in 1620. It was now resolved, "that the "professor shall make a public lesson once a-week "in said science;" and, at the same meeting, it was also enacted, "that the professor of divinity shall

* Quick's Synod. vol. ii. p. 238. † Counc. Regist. vol. xiv. p. 49.

"give two public lessons in the week."* Whether both of these were to be delivered in the public hall before all the students, or those who chose to attend, is uncertain; though I am inclined to think that they were. There is, however, no mention made in the original records from which this could be inferred. We shall find that, about a century afterwards, a similar duty was imposed upon the professor of pneumatics.

It was also enjoined that, when the communion or sacrament was celebrated, the professors and the whole of the scholars should be in one church. This was in 1628. King James died in 1625; and, long before that event, the church and kingdom of Scotland were greatly divided respecting the observance of this religious rite. The accession of Charles produced more violent contentions. The inhabitants of Edinburgh would not kneel at the sacrament; and so numerous were those who were hostile to the royal mandate, that the sacrament was not dispensed in Edinburgh during the course of that year.† It cannot be doubted that it was this disagreeable state of affairs which occasioned this peremptory command of the magistrates. Those students who did not conform, were in the custom of repairing, on such occasions, to those churches in which they were permitted to enjoy what they considered as their christian liberty. To prevent such irregularities, or rather to

* Counc. Regist. vol. xiv. p. 118–119.

† Stevenson, Hist. of the Ch. of Scot. ap. an. 1628.

correct what was esteemed to be disobedience, the magistrates, in compliance with the wishes of a corrupt court, interposed their authority. So eager were the episcopal party to exert the power they now enjoyed, and to compel conformity to their ceremonies, that, about the same time, an order was issued, that "doctors and governors, together with the students, "should repair to the cathedral church for hearing "divine service; and that a place should be built "therein for their accommodation."* But all their efforts were unavailing. The prejudices of the nation were in favour of presbytery; and the current was so impetuous, that nothing could withstand it.

In the meantime, Charles, who had frequently promised to revisit his native country, accomplished this in summer 1633. The inhabitants of Edinburgh vied with each other in shewing the most distinguished marks of honour to their sovereign. The preparations for his reception were upon a much more extensive scale than what had been made for his father in 1617. The arrangements were superintended by Principal Adamson and the celebrated Drummond of Hawthornden. Drummond had received his education at the university of Edinburgh, being enrolled as a student, in 1605, in the class then taught by Mr James Knox. He discovered very early an uncommon taste for polite literature; and his proficiency, even at college, was such as to attract

* Counc. Regist. vol. xiv. p. 302.

the notice of all. His poetry, as well as his writings in prose, far excel those of any of his contemporaries in smoothness of style; and discover delicacy of sentiment, richness of fancy, and a thorough acquaintance with the best models of antiquity. The interest which he took in the prosperity of the university, during his lifetime, was very honourable to himself; and, at his death, he bequeathed all his books to the library. They constitute a very curious and valuable collection.

The devices which were invented, to testify the high sense which the city of Edinburgh entertained of the king's visit, were exceedingly ingenious; and discovered a turn of mind which, there is little doubt, had been derived from Drummond's intimate acquaintance with the poetry and manners of the Italians, and the strong partiality he seems always to have had for the writings of the early authors of the modern romance. Stages and triumphal arches were erected in different parts of the city. There was also a representation of Parnassus, upon a very large scale; and, from each of those stations, the students, in the characters of Edina, Caledonia, Apollo, and the Muses, &c. delivered addresses, partly in English, and partly in Latin, with which the king is represented as having been greatly delighted. Some of these are preserved in Drummond's works.

Charles' taste for literature was far inferior to that of his father. His temper was less complying;

he was less accessible; and did not cherish the conversation or disputations of learned men, like James. Nothing of this kind therefore took place. He was intent upon the establishment of episcopacy in Scotland; and, at the same time, wished to command what revenue the country could afford, without the intervention of parliament. Laud accompanied the king in his journey; and, whatever capital defects there might be in the character or politics of this bishop, it is indisputable that, upon other occasions, he was a zealous patron of learning. He left no trace of this, however, in his visit to Scotland. His zeal for episcopacy was unbounded; and the opposition which both he and his master experienced, in attempting to accomplish their favourite plans, could not fail of creating disgust at the nation in general. The short time that was spent in Scotland was attended with so many disagreeable occurrences, that it ought not to excite surprise, that many things were overlooked which would have been attended to during a season of tranquillity. No vestige remains of Charles having patronized literature in Scotland, during the whole of his ill-fated reign.

All public literary institutions are necessarily affected by revolutions or political factions in the state. Perhaps, at no period of our history, did party spirit ever arrive at such a height as during the reign of Charles I. Political enmity was aggravated by ecclesiastical differences; and, as usual, no moderation was exercised. The former, how-

ever, was increased by means of the latter; and the zeal of the ruling party induced them to attempt a change in the internal economy of the college. The episcopal party had been indefatigable in resisting the covenant; yet the current of popularity was so strong in its favour, that it was found impracticable to eradicate the partiality to it which prevailed. It has been already mentioned, that, at the foundation of the university, the covenant was subscribed; and this continued to be done both by teachers and students for a long time after, notwithstanding the innumerable attempts which had been made to introduce another formula. The resistance does not appear to have been made so much by the principal and professors, as by the students. The terror of giving any cause of offence to them, and consequently of rendering the college more unpopular in public estimation, constituted a formidable barrier against acceding to the eager desires of those who favoured prelacy. Charles' visit to Scotland, however, and his extravagant zeal, as well as that of his followers, in behalf of episcopacy, together with their open contempt of the covenant, seem to have given courage to the party; and, accordingly, in 1635, subscription to it was abolished, and another short formula substituted, which contained a solemn abjuration of popery. From the measures pursued by the court, and the avowed determination to prosecute the same system with greater violence, it is difficult to conjecture how another plan could have been adopted,

or how they could avoid doing what they really did, without incurring the hazard of rebellion against the constituted authorities. The other Scotish universities had set the example of partiality to the politics of Charles. And Forbes, bishop of the newly erected bishopric of Edinburgh, had, in the year preceding, in a letter to the presbytery of Edinburgh, commanded conformity, with which Principal Adamson, as a minister of the city, had complied.* Thus, when things appeared to be so favourable to the views of the king, and little or no opposition made elsewhere, it was reasonable to expect little resistance from the university. Mr Andrew Stevenson was the only regent who protested against it. No notice is taken how it was received by the students. It appears, from the records of the university, that the number that entered, and consequently subscribed the new formula, amounted to a fair average of what they had been for several years before.

This is not the place to give an account of the policy pursued by Charles and his advisers in regard to Scotland; it is to be found in all the histories of the times. But it is necessary to remark, that as his ecclesiastical measures may be considered as laying the foundation for the civil commotions which, in

* The principal's yearly *fee* (as it is called) was at this time raised to 2000 merks, to be paid quarterly. This, however, was afterwards withdrawn.—Counc. Regist. vol. xiv. p. 378.

a short time, arose in Scotland; or rather, as the affairs of the church and state were so closely united, as to be scarcely capable of separation, and as the education of ecclesiastics is committed to the care of universities, so, whatever affected the one, would of course affect the other. The whole tenor of the king's melancholy career plainly testifies, that nothing short of the most rigid conformity to episcopacy, in its most minute details, would have ever satisfied him. It became, therefore, an object of the first magnitude with him to accomplish the introduction of a liturgy into Scotland. His father had paved the way for the establishment of the episcopal order; and he himself had succeeded in completing what had been begun. The situation of affairs in Scotland, in 1637, were considered to be in such a train, as to warrant the experiment of compelling the Scotish nation to employ a *Service-Book* in their public devotions. James had as little respect for liberty of conscience, or as little idea that he had no right to have recourse to compulsion in matters of religion, as Charles; but he had far wiser counsellors. He, therefore, never attempted this, how anxiously soever he desired it. The reading of the liturgy was the signal for rebellion; and, in a very short time, the presbyterian party were regularly organized, and deputies from the nobility, gentry, and clergy, were elected to watch over the cause, and adopt such measures as circumstances might require. As each rank consulted by themselves, they were called

the *Tables*. One of the first acts of this body was, "to admonish the universities, in a brotherly way, "to beware of the Service-Book, and of suffering "any corrupt doctrine to be taught amongst them." The probability, therefore, is, that it had been already introduced into the colleges.

No engine is so powerful in the hands of one who can manage it skilfully, as that of religion, when he wishes to oppose what he conceives to be improper interference by the civil government. The presbyterians made full use of this; and, after various transactions, the king consented that a general assembly should be called in the end of the year 1638. No assembly of the church had met since the decease of James. It may be, therefore, inferred, that nothing but the most dire necessity could ever have induced Charles to consent to such a meeting. I leave to others to enumerate the important events which that convocation produced, which did not cease to operate till the revolution, if they have ceased at this day. Among the great variety of subjects, however, which came under the review of that assembly, was the state of schools and colleges. The regulations respecting the former were judicious, and seem to have been well intended. Presbyteries received directions "for the setling of schooles in "every landward (*country*) parochin, and provid- "ing of men able for the charge of teaching of the "youth public reading, and precenting of the psalme, "and the catechising of the common people; and

"that means be provided for their intertainment in "the most convenient manner that may be had, ac- "cording to the ability of the parochin. That the "ministers of the parochin, the principall, regents, "and professours within colledges, and masters and "doctors of schooles, be tryed concerning the sound- "ness of their judgement in matters of religion, their "abilitie for discharge of their calling, &c.; and this "visitation of colledges to be by way of commission "from the general assembly."* The colleges of Old Aberdeen and Glasgow appear to have been the most refractory; and, accordingly, committees were appointed to visit both. It does not appear that the university of Edinburgh was visited at that time; probably because they had cheerfully sent commissioners, who were known to be well affected to the cause.† It is a gross mistake, which has been studiously propagated, that talents and learning were confined to those who opposed the covenant. The truth is, the clergy, who coalesced with the measures approved of by the bishops, were far inferior in point of literary acquirements to many of the members of this assembly. Ramsay, Rollock, Colvine, Henderson, and Baillie, beisdes many others, were an honour to any church; and were the first to declare their firm adherence to those liberal principles which constitute the best vindication of the revolution of

* *Vid.* Acts of Assembly, Ap. An.

† Principal Adamson was commissioner for Edinburgh College.—Counc. Regist. vol. xv. p. 70.

1688, and to which we are indebted for our invaluable civil privileges. The earnest desire they discovered for the general dissemination of knowledge, and for procuring to the poorest in the country access to the principles of learning, demands the gratitude of posterity. It is to them that we must ascribe the institution, in its full extent, of our parochial schools, and the care by which pernicious errors have been prevented from being propagated in our seminaries.

The warlike attitude which the king's army and navy assumed towards Scotland, in 1639, at first alarmed the abettors of the covenant. They had formed, however, the determination to defend their own cause; and multitudes repaired to their standard from all parts of the country. The tumults which ensued, were not only such as are common to every civil war, but all the more violent passions which religious zeal commonly calls into action were in full exercise. The object of the royalists evidently was to get possession of Edinburgh; and the consternation which this excited in the breasts of the peaceable inhabitants, can be more easily conceived than described. One of the effects which it produced was, that the students at the college were dispersed, the gates shut, and no business of any kind transacted within the city. Peace, however, was for a short time obtained; and the conditions were signed at Dunse between the king and the covenanters.

Meanwhile, the patrons of the university, and those who were interested in its prosperity, were

busily employed in contriving means by which its respectability and usefulness might be increased. The peculiar duties of rector had never been properly defined in the university, and no office-bearer invested with his functions had been annually elected. At this critical conjuncture of affairs, it was thought proper to revive this office; and I entertain no doubt that the leading motive which occasioned this resolution was, that a vigilant eye might be kept over the economy of the college, and that nothing hostile to the measures of the popular party should be permitted within its walls. Previous, indeed, to this date, the patrons visited the college annually; but do not appear to have entered very minutely into the business of the university. In 1640, however, the town council ordained, "that a rector shall be chosen "yearly, on the 1st of December, with six assessors "as assistants; two of the council, two of the town's "ministers, and two of the members of the college." The rector was to be formally sworn into his office, in the presence of the council, ministers, and students.

The following regulations are extracted from the register of the town council:

"I. That all the rectors wyselie and cairfullie con-"sider what things may serve for the guid education "of the youth, and for the floorishing estaitt of the "colledge, whether in the rents or buildings, or in "ordering of the masters, professors, and students.

"He sall be the eye of the counsall of the town for "universall inspectioun, and as the mouth of the "colledge for giving informatioun, and delivering "such overtures to the counsall as himself and his "assessors shall find convenient.

"II. He sall be cairfull that nather the principall, "professors, nor regents, nor any uther member of "the said colledge, be deficient in thair duty, pre-"scryvit be the lawis and statutis of the colledge. "He sall advise them, and, if need be, he sall admo-"nish them, bot with that respect which is dew to "thair plaices; and in caice they amend not what "he judges amiss, he sall, after the second admoni-"tioun, mak the matter known to the counsall of "the town.

"III. The rector and his assessors sall cognosce "and judge of all complaints and debaites, not pro-"per for the civill nor ecclesiastical jurisdictioun, "which sall happin to aryse amongst anie of the "pryme masters of the colledge, or amongst the "principall, professors, or regents, or anie of them; "as also, of such complaints and debaitts as may "aryse betwixt anie of the students of philosophie "or anie of the students of divinity, or betwixt anie "of these and the students of anie other professioun, "or betwixt anie of the students of the professiouns "amongst themselfis; he sall labour to compose "them justlie, and without scandal; but so that it "sall be lawful for anie of the pairtyes to appeal to "the town counsall.

"IV. The rector sall have in his custodie the ma-
"tricular of the colledge, containing the names of
"all the students, of whatsumevir professioun, who,
"at their entrie, sall sweir and subscryve in his pre-
"sence, and in presence of the principall and regents
"of the class, if he sall be an student of philosophie;
"and if he be an student of any other professioun,
"in presence of the principall and professor of the
"said professioun, in obedience to the lawis and or-
"ders of the colledge, with their fidelitie and for-
"wardness for advancing the interest thairof all the
"dayis of thair lyffes; and immediatelie before they
"ressaive the degrie, sall appear in the common hall,
"sweir and subscryve the confessioun of faith, as it is
"preseryved be the laitt General Assemblie held at
"Edinburgh, ane thousand six hundreth thretie-nine
"zeires.

"V. The rector sall have ane register of the
"names of the benefactors, with the expressioun of
"their particular beneficence, whether it be in lands,
"rents, sommes of money, buiks, or any other way
"of liberalitie, that thair may be preserved that ho-
"nourable commemoratioun of them, that may be
"maid at such solemne tymes as sall be thocht fitt,
"that others may be moved to follow their laudable
"exampill.

"VI. The rector sall ressaive from the counsall
"ane transumpt of the whole rentall and sommes of
"money belonging to the said colledge, subscryvit
"with the hand of the common clerk, that he may

"ryplie advise how far it may extend, and be em-
"ployed for the weill of the colledge, at the will of
"the counsall.

"VII. The rector sall not onlie be present at the
"soleme meetings of the colledge, bot also sall be
"invited by the preses to begin and goe before the
"rest in all the publick disputes of philosophie and
"divinity; anent all and sundrie of which parti-
"culars, and everie ane of them, conteinet in the
"articles above written, the saids Provost, Baillies,
"Counsall, and Deacones of crafts, Patrounes of the
"said colledge, grants and gives, be thir presents, to
"the rector presentlie and heirefter to be chosen,
"thair full power and ample commissioun, for doeing
"and exerceising the haill particulars conteynit in the
"articles above written, in manner therein sett doun,
"als fully and frielie as they micht do themselffis,
"in all respects."*

These duties are similar to those which the rectors of other universities are expected to perform. They are sufficiently laborious; and the proper execution of an office of so great trust and power, would require a man of no ordinary abilities, besides being possessed of great prudence and discretion.

The person who was chosen rector at this time was the celebrated Mr Alexander Henderson, who acted so conspicuous a part in the management of

* Counc. Regist. vol. xv. p. 113.

Scotish affairs, than whom none more fit could have been found. I have not been able to discover the place of his nativity; but he was educated at the university of St Andrews. He was born in 1582, and was very early dedicated to the church. Of his early history very little is known, excepting that, when he first began his ministry, he was attached to episcopacy; a circumstance which perhaps rendered him, when he changed his sentiments, more tolerant to those who differed from him respecting church government, than many of his brethren. He who is represented to have convinced him of presbytery being the only scriptural form of church government was Mr Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, the most celebrated preacher of his time, a man of independent fortune, who had warmly espoused the doctrines of the early reformers. The calvinistic sentiments of Bruce corresponded with those of Henderson; and, as the prelates had taken a very different view of some of the leading doctrines of Scripture, it is probable that, though unconsciously to himself, he was predisposed to listen with attention to what could be advanced in favour of presbytery. He was first appointed minister of Leuchars in Fife; and, even in that obscure situation, had acquired so great ascendancy among his brethren, and was so much respected for his talents, that he was chosen moderator of the celebrated assembly which met at Glasgow in 1638. He acquitted himself with great ability and address in that very difficult situation;

and, what is extraordinary, retained the esteem of both parties. In the succeeding assembly, his Majesty's Commissioner proposed that he should be continued as moderator; but he rejected this proposition, as inconsistent with the constitution of the church. He was admitted one of the ministers of Edinburgh in 1638; and, in a short time afterwards, was promoted to what was called in those days First or King's Minister. He was the oracle of the party; and was employed by them in conducting many difficult affairs both of church and state. When at Newcastle, in 1646, Charles I. entered into a controversy with him respecting church government, which is published. It produced no effect upon either party; but though he was very firm in defending his principles, he did not on that account forfeit the king's favour; for, in his last letter to Mr Henderson, he thus expresses himself. "For instance, I think you the best preacher in New-"castle; yet I believe you may err; and possibly a "better preacher may come; but, till then, must re-"tain my opinion." He was a man of a very composed temper, master of the learning of the times, of a very ready elocution, and one of the best debaters in the assembly, as well as a very popular preacher. He was one of the commissioners to the Westminster Assembly. His works are not numerous, consisting principally of sermons preached upon public occasions. He felt his health rapidly declining when at Newcastle with the king; and, there-

fore, returned to his native country by sea, being unable to undergo the fatigue of the journey by land, and died upon 19th August 1646, about a month after his arrival, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, much lamented by both parties. There is a very good portrait of him in the library, which expresses that benignity of nature for which his contemporaries describe him to have been so remarkable. So violent was the spirit of dissension in those days, that, when the episcopal party got the ascendency, they razed the inscription from the tombstone which was erected to his memory in the Gray Friars church-yard by his nephew, George Henderson.* This, however, ought not to be ascribed to any other cause than to the rude manners of the age.

Notwithstanding the numerous avocations of Mr Henderson, he did not neglect his duty as rector of the college. He exerted himself to the utmost of his power in promoting its prosperity. He, together with some of his colleagues, borrowed upwards of L.1000, which was expended in adding to and improving the buildings. His influence was so great in the country, that, during the term of his rectorship, the citizens of Edinburgh seem to have been emulous of each other in contributing to the accommodation of the members of the university. Additional buildings were erected; and access to the college,

* There is an accurate copy of this inscription, in manuscript, in the library. The copy in Maitland's Hist. of Edin is incorrect in several places.

which had been hitherto incommodious, was much improved. In consequence of the recommendation of Mr Robert Douglas,* Dr Robert Johnstone, an eminent physician in London, distinguished himself by his benefactions to the university, both in enlarging the buildings and increasing the library. The other colleges of Scotland were founded by individuals; and funds, which were considered as sufficient, were provided for their permanent establishment. That of Edinburgh, however, increased by almost imperceptible degrees, and derived the small capital which it possesses from an infinite number of different quarters. The citizens conceived themselves to be much interested in its prosperity; and assistance was received from individuals who, though not devoted to literature themselves, felt an honourable pride in witnessing the increasing reputation of the university of their native city.

A more than ordinary solicitude pervaded the leading men of the nation at this time, and particularly the clergy, to render the revenues of the universities better able to afford a suitable maintenance to those who taught in them.† It is justly observed, in the act referred to, "that the good estate both of the kirk and "commonwealth depends mainly upon the flourishing "of universities and colleges as the seminaries of "both; which cannot be expected, unless the poor

* A portrait of Mr Douglas is in the library, presented by his grand-daughter, 22d May 1700.

† Acts of Assem. sess. 9. Aug. 3. 1641.

"means which they have, be helped, and sufficient "revenues be provided for them, and the same well "employed: Therefore, that out of the rents of pre- "lacies, collegiat or chapter-kirks, or such like, a "sufficient maintenance be provided for a competent "number of professors, teachers, and bursers in all "faculties, and especially in divinity; and for up- "holding, repairing, and enlarging the fabrick of the "colledges, furnishing libraries, and such like good "uses, in every university and colledge." It is almost unnecessary to observe, that the turbulence of the times prevented this laudable and generous resolution from producing the good effects which were intended. Whether the representation was ever communicated to parliament, I know not; but there can be no doubt that no regard was paid to it.

An overture, however, which was made at the same time, was carried into full effect; and, as it afterwards produced important consequences in the internal economy of the universities,—in the course that was taught, as well as in the mode of teaching, it is proper that it should be introduced here.

"Next, for keeping of good order, preveening, "and removing of abuses, and promoving of pietie "and learning, it is very needful and expedient that "there be a communion and correspondencie kept "betwixt all the universities and colledges: And, "therefore, that it be ordained, that there be a meet- "ing, once every year, at such times and places as "shall be agreed upon, of commissioners from every

"university and colledge, to consult and determine "upon the common affairs, and whatsoever may "concern them, for the ends above specified; and "who also, or some of their number, may represent "what shall be needfull and expedient for the same "effect to parliaments and general assemblies." It ought to be observed, nevertheless, that these meetings did not take place for some years; for which a very satisfactory reason can be assigned. The other colleges of Scotland were by no means so well affected to the covenant as Edinburgh. They had been long the seats of bishoprics; and the influence which one in the situation of a bishop may be supposed to have had over universities of which he was *ex officio* chancellor, could not fail to be great; and even though the current of popularity should be against the patron, it is natural that his tone of politics should be preferred to that of others.

The third resolution of the assembly was,—"That "special care be had that the places of the professors, especially of professors of divinity, in every "university and colledge, be filled with the ablest "men, and best affected to the reformation and order "of this kirk." Their zeal for able men was undoubtedly sincere, if we may judge from those who were inducted to professorships of divinity; but it must be at the same time acknowledged, that they were no less attentive to a decided partiality to presbytery; and this discovered the confidence they, at

that early period, entertained of the success of their cause.

Frequent overtures had been made in the assembly with respect to bursars; but it is probable that the recommendations had not been accompanied with the desired effects. In this assembly, however, it was judged fit that some plan should be specified, by which the objects that the church had in view might be attained. For this purpose, it was enacted, "That "every presbytery that consists of twelve ministers "shall maintain a bursar, and, where the number is "fewer nor twelve, shall be joined with these but of "another presbyterie where their number exceeds: "Where this course is not already kept, it is to be "begun without longer delay; and every provincial "is ordained to give an accompt of their number of "bursars that is constantly to be entertained by their "province at the next ensuing general assembly." The evident object of the leaders of the church was to render their society as compact as possible, and to make it the interest of the inferior courts to superintend the education of young men who had been nourished in the same principles with themselves. There is a clause in the same act, which I confess myself incapable of explaining. "No expectant was "to be allowed to preach in publick without the "bounds of the university or presbytery where he "passed his tryals, without," &c. Universities, as far as I know, never possessed the power of licensing

any probationer. It is probable, therefore, that the certificate from the university was all that is intended.

The care of the church, in providing proper professors to the universities, was very exemplary. In the assembly which met at St Andrews in 1642, it had been resolved, "that in respect of the present "scarcity of professors of divinity, it were good for "the universities to send abroad for able and approved men, that our ministers may be kept in their "pastorall charge as much as may be." It is necessary to observe, that, from the beginning of the reformation, a very close connexion had subsisted between the church of Scotland and the protestant churches on the continent. The education of a clergyman was conceived to be much superior, if he had studied for sometime in a foreign seminary. From the high reputation of Calvin, Geneva was originally preferred; but, when his doctrines spread through France, they were contented to repair thither. The fashion of the times rendered every one who had taken his degree to be esteemed capable of delivering lectures in that faculty; and if he had formed a taste for this occupation, he was generally so employed. This accounts for so many of our Scotish professors having previously officiated abroad in a similar capacity. The rector, Mr Henderson, who was the principal director of the measures of the assembly, and who watched with equal care over the prosperity of the university, was solicitous that

the education of the candidates for the ministry should be upon as extensive a scale as possible. The professor of divinity had been in the practice of giving instructions once in the week, in the Hebrew language; but this was speedily discovered to be little else than a nominal function. It was therefore resolved, that the professorship of oriental languages should be distinct from that of divinity. It must be confessed that, till of late, very little attention was paid to the language of the Old Testament Scriptures in our European seminaries. The drudgery of acquiring a knowledge of the Masoretic punctuation was sufficient to terrify most students; and though a few individuals might possess the hardihood of attempting to overcome these difficulties, yet the majority relinquished it as a hopeless pursuit. The patrons, however, were very desirous that the students might have it in their power to become acquainted with this venerable language. Whether it was thought that a suitable professor could not be conveniently obtained, who was a native of the country, or that, in terms of the act of assembly cited above, they were unwilling to remove a clergyman from his parish, is not known, but they invited a learned foreigner to accept of the office, whose name was Julius Conradus Otto. The following is the minute of the town council concerning this transaction. *26th January* 1642.—"The same day, Sir "Alexander Clerk, provost, William Gray, John "Trotter, John Pearsone, James Rae, baillies, &c.

"being conveened in counsell,—The counsell, con-
"sidering that they had caused bring home Julius
"Conradus Otto to be ane professor of the Hebrew
"and orientall tongues,—theirfoir, they have thoght
"good to take ane yeiris tryell of the fruites of his
"labor and learning; and, for his enterteinment, they
"allow unto him the soume of twelff hundreth merks,
"to be payet to him at four termes in the yeir,
"Candlemes, Beltan, Lambes, and Hallowmes, be-
"ginning the first termes payment at Candlemes
"next; and ordaines the treasurer of the colledge to
"pay the same, and it sall be allowit to him in
"his comptis; and if it sall happen the rents of
"the colledge not to be sufficient for defraying
"thereof, ordains the treasurer of the town to sup-
"plie the same, and the same sall be allowed in
"his comptis."* The public records do not men-
tion any other circumstance respecting his history,
than that he was a foreigner. It is well known,
however, that he was a Jew, and had distinguished
himself abroad (probably in Germany) by his pro-
gress in literature. It was no uncommon thing in
those days to admit those of his nation to teach the
Hebrew language, from an idea that they were better
fitted for the task. They were never regularly ad-
mitted in the same manner as the other professors;
they were rather considered in the light of private
teachers, and taught nothing else but languages.

* Counc. Regist. vol. xv. p. 219.

Similar instances are to be found in the history of the English and foreign universities; and, in India, the natives instruct foreigners in the dialects of the country, though of a very different profession of religion.

Notwithstanding the commotions which prevailed throughout Scotland, both political and ecclesiastical (for indeed they were so blended, that it is impossible to draw the line of distinction), the leading men of the popular party were exceedingly attentive towards promoting the interests of learning. The progress which they had themselves made must be considered as their chief motive; and the regulations which were adopted were worthy of such men as Ramsay and Henderson. The act of assembly, in 1645, is too long for inserting in this place; but it is necessary that a brief account should be given of what it contains, because, about two years afterwards, its injunctions were obeyed, and various resolutions adopted, which not only referred to the university of Edinburgh, but to all the universities of Scotland. The plan which they prescribed was systematic, and included regulations respecting schools as well as colleges. The institution of parochial schools in Scotland is a direct consequence of that taste for the dissemination of knowledge which the first reformers possessed. But there is one circumstance which produced the effect of maintaining purity, and consequently stability, in these seminaries; and this is, that, from the time of

their first establishment, each school was under the immediate jurisdiction of the parish minister and his session, whose interest it was that the schoolmaster should faithfully discharge his duty; and that the presbytery of the bounds had an inquisitorial power to examine into the manner in which the school was conducted; could prescribe what method of teaching, &c. ought to be preferred; or bestow those rewards which would stimulate a generous and enlightened mind to greater exertions. The plan was wisely conceived; and the incalculably beneficial effects which have accompanied its execution constitute its best recommendation. It may be observed, however, that it was borrowed from Geneva, and formed a part of the constitution of that very singular republic, of which Calvin may be called the founder.

It was enacted, that every grammar school should be visited twice in the year, by persons to be appointed by the presbytery and kirk-session in country parishes, and by the town-council in burghs, with their ministers; and, where universities are, by the universities, with consent of the patrons. It would appear that the practice of making Latin verses had been very much neglected. The assembly renewed their injunction that it should be revived; and assigned as a reason for the common ignorance of the body, the little regard that was paid to this exercise. Schoolmasters in burghs, and other considerable parishes, were required to give specimens of their

skill in poesie. Some disagreeable occurrences had happened from the teaching of the Greek language in schools. Those students who had made some progress in the knowledge of it, were desirous, when they entered the university, that their course should be abridged. It was found necessary to check this; and, therefore, though schoolmasters were not interdicted from teaching the language, this was only to be considered as preparatory to their entering the college. They were to submit to the regular course, notwithstanding. The same regulations were adopted respecting logic; and, unless attended to, they could not be admitted masters of arts. After some other minute regulations, which it is unnecessary to specify, it was in the last place ordained, "That at the time of every general assembly, the "commissioners directed thereto, from all the uni-"versities of this kingdom, meet and consult to-"gether for the establishment and advancement of "pietie, learning, and good order, in the schools and "universities, and be careful that a correspondence "be kept among the universities, and, so far as is "possible, an uniformitie in doctrine and good or-"der." The overtures respecting bursars were again renewed; and it was ordained, that every bursar should have yearly for his maintenance L.100 Scots, equal to L.8. 6s. 8d. sterling. Considering the value of money at that time, this may be considered as a very liberal allowance.

In the month of April this year (1645), the plague

again made its appearance in Edinburgh, of which great numbers died. The session of the college was on that account shortened; and, in the beginning of May, the students returned to their different homes. The period of meeting was deferred till November. 'In consequence of the hazard of infection, it was judged improper that the college should assemble in Edinburgh. It was therefore resolved, that the professors and students should repair to Linlithgow, until such time as the danger was over. They were accommodated in the church of that town till the subsequent March, when they returned to Edinburgh. This was the last time that the plague raged in Scotland.'

CHAPTER VI.

Visitation of the Colleges—Commissioners from the Universities in 1647, *and in* 1648—*Cromwell's Gift to the University—Restoration of Charles II.—Public Graduation—The Lord Provost declared Rector—Principal Monro and others expelled.*

From the year 1638, when the covenanters gained the ascendency in the church, every succeeding assembly had taken great interest in the education of the youth; and commissioners had, from time to time, been appointed to visit the universities, and to examine into their literary, religious, and, perhaps I may add, political state; for subscription to the covenant, though it was viewed by them principally in the light of a religious duty, yet it certainly constituted a most powerful political engine. From the unsettled state of Scotland at that time, however, these visitations frequently did not take place. It has been already observed, that the other three universities were not so hearty in the cause of covenanting as Edinburgh. Under the sagacious administration of Henderson, its fidelity was above suspicion;

and this appears to have been the reason why, during this critical period, no visitations were appointed to examine into its state, though mention be often made of commissions to visit the sister colleges.

The general assembly of the church of Scotland have, from time to time, exercised their undoubted right of *visiting* the universities, and examining into their general economy, the manner in which discipline had been maintained, the books that were taught, the sciences in which the students had been instructed; and, in general, have ascertained the nature of the whole course of study that had been adopted. . . . . .

The origin of this jurisdiction would, of itself, form the subject of a very curious dissertation. In the former part of this history, it has been mentioned, what indeed is known to every person acquainted with European literature, that almost all the seminaries of learning which exist in modern Europe owed their establishment to ecclesiastics. Literature has, in modern times, been more indebted to this class of men than to any other.

The right of visiting all seminaries, of whatever description, has uniformly been claimed by the Pope. It constituted a part of that jurisdiction which was annexed to him as supreme head of the church; and he at all times possessed a discretionary power of exercising it, either personally or by a deputy. After the reformation in England, however, this power was declared to belong to the king; which seems to have

been recognized by all parties. Some ambitious prelates, such as Laud, laid claim to the same authority, in virtue of their being metropolitans;* and something similar is also possessed by the chancellors of universities. In general, however, the visitors are appointed by the will of the founder; but this in no instance supersedes a royal visitation, provided the king chuses to grant it. The objects of these visitations include an inquiry into the state of the funds, the discipline, literature, and religious principles of the community. In 1647, the parliament sent visitors to Oxford, and appointed a committee to receive their reports.† But the general assembly never interfered with the pecuniary transactions of the universities, having always confined themselves to what was more properly their peculiar province; leaving it to the civil courts to determine all disputes that might arise respecting the proper application of the funds.

It appears that, about this time (1647), considerable corruptions had existed in the Scotish universities; for the commissioners represented to the assembly,‡ "That the overtures of the assembly 1645, "for the visitation of schools and advancement of "learning, were very much neglected." The public acts of the visitors of the university of Edinburgh, appointed by the general assembly, are not to be

* Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, under the title *Colleges*.

† *Vid.* Oxoniana, vol. iv. p. 201.

‡ *Vid.* Acts of Assembly for 1647.

found; but the following is a correct copy of what took place at Aberdeen on a similar occasion, during the course of the same year; and it can hardly be doubted, that there was little or no variation between them. On this account, they are here inserted.

"*Aberdeen*, 21*st May* 1647.

"The commissioners, finding it very necessary "that all diligence be used by the several masters, "for training up of their scholars in the grounds of "religion, have ordained, and by these presents or- "dains, that every master teach to his scholars, up- "on the Lord's Day, Pareus upon Ursin, dividing "the same into four parts; so that the whole may "be taught them before the finishing of the stu- "dents their course in philosophy.

"The commissioners, considering the laudable cus- "tom of the university, in conveening their whole "scholars every day at eleven hours, in the common "schooles (the whole masters also being present), "for conferring amongst themselves, and for obtain- "ing resolution of their doubts, &c.; and being in- "formed that, contrary to this ancient order, the "Hebdomadarius only keepeth this meeting, have "ordained, and by these presents ordain, the whole "regents to be present at this dyet, that so the "principal end thereof be not frustrated, but the "students, by their presence, may be encouraged "and stirred up to further diligence.

"The commissioners being informed of the great

" abuse, creeped in in the whole colleges, amongst the " students, in speaking of English, contrary to the " laws and foundation of the universities, which is " much occasioned by the masters their not punish- " ing of the said abuse as the fault requires; do here- " by ordain the whole masters to take particular no- " tice of this great omission; and that their discipline " in this, and in what else is amiss, be more vigorous " than for the present it is, as they will be answerable " to the commission.

" It being represented by Mr William Douglass, " professor of divinity, to the commission, that since " he was now a member of the university, he and the " other professors in the said university might enjoy " their privileges in all meetings; and, particularly, " that they might be capable of, and have a voice in, " the election of the commissioner from the uni- " versity to general assemblies. Which desire being " intimated by the commission to the whole mem- " bers of the university personally present, they did " agree to the same; but withall protested it might " be without prejudice of any particular college; " and that either in the privileges or rents and " emoluments of the old college, contained in the " foundation thereof, or other riches belonging there- " to; with which protestation the said Mr William " and commissioners were content.

" *Sic subscribitur.*

" W. DALGLISHE."*

* Records of the College of Edinburgh.

The jealousy which has subsisted between King's College and Marischall College, Aberdeen, is well known. Their vicinity, and the comparative smallness of their funds, has often suggested the idea that they ought to be united; but, perhaps, the interests of literature have been more promoted in the north of Scotland, by these institutions being kept separate. Competition for public favour renders, in most cases, the teacher better qualified for the discharge of his duty; and the public are consequently better served. This rivalship is very manifest in the protest taken by Mr Douglas. King's College has been accustomed, in every dispute which has taken place between it and Marischall College, to claim a superiority, not only in regard to time, but also from their charter being, as they alleged, more ample. It is probable, however, that the commissioners held their meetings in the New Town College; because the principles of its members corresponded much more with their own, both in religion and politics.

There is a circumstance mentioned in this minute, which clearly shews that the two colleges were esteemed one university at that time,—they sent only one member to the general assembly, and they met together for the purpose of electing their commissioner. At present they send two, and the election is separate. At what time this disjunction took place I have not been able to learn. The only instance in which, as far as I know, they now act as a body, is in waiting upon the Lords of Justiciary,

upon the evening previous to the commencement of the circuit-court at Aberdeen.

Mr Dalglishe, the only commissioner whose name is mentioned, was an exceedingly active member of the assembly, from the time of their first meeting in 1638; and in that assembly he sat as minister of Kirkmabreck, a parish then in the presbytery of Kirkcudbright, but now in that of Wigton. He was appointed agent for the church during the same assembly.*

During this period, great zeal prevailed among the presbyterian clergy to promote the doctrines of Calvin, and, in general, to instil into the minds of the youth what they esteemed as the principles of true religion. It was enacted by the assembly, "That it were good to exhort all the universities to "be careful to take account of all their scholars, on "the Sabbath day, of the sermons, and of their les-"sons of the catechism." The Westminster Confession had been sent from London to the commissioners of the kirk, met at Edinburgh in January 1647, and approved of;† and the arrangement in the minute above quoted, in recommending catechetical instruction to the students, evidently accorded with the sentiments publicly announced by the assembly at Westminster. The Larger Catechism, however, as it is called, and which was originally intended for public exposition in the pulpit, as has been already

* Baillie's Lett. vol. i. p. 149.

† *Ibid.* Act of Assemb. Aug. 1647, Sess. 23.

mentioned, according to the custom of foreign churches, was not published until April 1648.* This may be one reason for the commissioners appointing Pareus upon Ursin to be taught; besides, the work was very popular among protestants, both at home and abroad,† and was written in the Latin language.

Zachary Ursin was the disciple and a favourite pupil of Melancthon. He was afterwards professor of divinity at Heidelberg, in the Palatinate, and taught with great reputation in that university. He was born at Breslaw, in 1534, and discovered at a very early age the most promising talents. He studied at Wittemberg, Leipsic, Paris, and Zurich; and, from his talents, conjoined with ardour and application, he soon distinguished himself. He died in 1583, when he was only forty-nine years of age. It is sufficient to add that, in the opinion of both Junius and Beza, he was possessed of distinguished abilities.

David Pareus, who succeeded him in the professorship, and had been his pupil, published a commentary upon the catechism, which was also most favourably received by all the protestant churches. Ursin published two catechisms. That which was ordered to be taught in the Scotish universities, contains one hundred and twenty-nine questions, to which are subjoined very brief answers, together

* Stevenson, p. 1180.

† *Vid.* "Monita R. Bodii de Filii Sui Institutione," edited by Sir Robert Sibbald.

with the proofs from Scripture. These, it is evident, were intended to be committed to memory. The latter was much more short. The one may be called the Text Book, and the other the Commentary. I am fully aware that, in attempting to describe the manner of theological instruction during this period, when the theoretical opinions of protestants, in regard to religion, were so strictly defined, that I may be supposed to represent the method then adopted as too rigorous, and perhaps more so than it really was. But this is not the case. We are too apt to imagine that, in former ages, men were regulated by maxims similar to those which are most agreeable to our own feelings. The university of Edinburgh was formed after the model of the foreign protestant seminaries; and such was the ardour with which the Scotish nation entered into the theological controversies then agitated, that nothing short of a complete acquiescence in the doctrines of the reformed would satisfy the prevailing party. The state of society in this country, in common with that of the other European nations, required this decided character. The morals, religion, and politics, of every man capable of discussing the question, were most rigidly determined, according as he favoured the one or the other party. The Scotish nobility and gentry were, in general, educated abroad; and those who frequented the universities were youths from the middling ranks of society, who were designed for the church, and had thoroughly imbibed

the principles of calvinism. This they possessed in common with all the reformed churches, as their accredited tests of orthodoxy universally demonstrate. Catechetical instruction has always been approved of by those who were best acquainted with the most proper method of communicating knowledge; and the economy of all the Scotish universities favoured this plan extremely. They lived in the college; and were compelled to submit to the peculiar laws which had been enacted. The authority thus possessed over the students was consequently greater; and the professors could direct their pupils more effectually to the religious system which they themselves had espoused. Besides, the predominating party in the church were, at this time, exceedingly zealous in propagating their sentiments. Pareus upon Ursin was, therefore, admirably adapted for the purpose they had principally in view.

The custom of assembling all the students at a certain hour, for the purpose of affording them an opportunity of obtaining a resolution of their doubts, might, perhaps be attended with some advantages; but these, it must be admitted, are very inconsiderable, even in the most favourable circumstances. In those days, the students did not enter the university so early as they have done of late years; and, in this respect, the plan was better adapted for their improvement. Still, however, it required the number to be small, before it could be carried into effect. In Edinburgh, where there are so many students and

different professorships, it is now altogether impracticable. The same professor formerly carried the same class of students through their whole course. They could, on that account, use greater freedom with their teacher: and he was likely to indulge them more, and be on a greater footing of familiarity with them. Resolution of doubts may be obtained in our intercourse with equals or superiors in common life; but a pupil, if he be properly disposed, always looks up to his master with diffidence. In a public hall, therefore, it is not probable that much business of this kind was transacted.

The regulation respecting the custom of assembling all the students, at a stated hour, in the presence of the masters, is of very ancient date. The hour appropriated for this was generally that immediately before dinner, which was *eleven hours*; and, at last, this, though expressly commanded by the statutes of the foundation, degenerated into the practice of one of the students reading some portion of any author which the regents might prescribe.

Great difference of opinion has existed respecting the best methods by which the most accurate knowledge of the Latin language may be acquired. As usual, the contending parties have run into opposite extremes. Latin was the language of the church; and was consequently better understood by the learned than their own vernacular tongue. Previous to the revival of letters, the languages of Europe were in the most rude and barbarous state. The business of life

could be transacted; but the correspondence of the learned, as well as their works, was composed in Latin. There can be no doubt that the regular established practice in all schools and universities was for the youth to converse in the same language in which they were instructed in the principles of its grammar. The Portroyal *nouvelle methode* was, as far as I know, the first eminent example of a new course being adopted. Mr Locke, with all the aid of his great genius, vigorously exposed the absurdity of the prevailing plan. But, in 1647, this new doctrine was quite unknown. The elementary works of Erasmus, Despauter, and Corderius, were in great repute in Scotland at that time, and have never been surpassed since.* It ought to be observed, however, that the first elements of the language were taught *in vernaculo sermone*; but Latin only was permitted to be employed in conversation.†

The history of the universities and of the church is, in modern Europe, and perhaps in every other civilized portion of the globe, very nearly connected. They are more nearly connected in Scotland than in any other civilized country called protestant; because the general assembly have the legal power of inquiring into the economy of the institutions, both as it respects the mode of teaching, and the doctrines,

* *Vid.* Mr Ruddiman's Dissertation upon the way of teaching the Latin tongue, Edinburgh, 1733, 8vo,—particularly sect. iii.

† *Vid.* the "Leges Scholæ Grammaticæ Edinensis," in the Appendix, No. II.

whether religious, moral, or physical, which are taught. And that venerable court regularly assembles.

In the early history of the Church of Scotland, when its constitution was not firmly established, much greater anxiety was expressed, and really felt, for the prosperity of the seminaries of learning, than has been shewn for a good many years. The leaders of the party seem to have been well aware of the importance of carrying into full effect, in the seminaries of learning, the plan which they had found to be so successful in their public ministrations as clergymen. In compliance, therefore, with the repeated injunctions of the assembly, commissioners from all the four universities assembled at Edinburgh upon the 28th August 1647. The following is a copy of the register of their acts.

"Conveened in the lower council-house these commissioners from the universities, as follow: Masters "Andrew Ramsay, John Adamson, John Strang, "Alexander Colvill, Robert Blaire, Robert Bailie, "William Douglass, to consult about the affairs of "the universities.

"I. Mr Andrew Ramsay is chosen moderator, and "Mr William Douglass clerk.

"II. It is agreed that there should be a register "of the conclusions of our meetings, whereof there "shall be four copies, one for each university.

"III. That our conclusions be communicated to

"every university, to the end that their commis-
"sioners may come instructed to the next meeting,
"with power to ratify them in name of their uni-
"versity.

"IV. We did find that the acts of the assembly
"1645, anent the advancement of learning and
"students of divinity, were generally neglected: for
"remede whereof, we opponed that the general as-
"sembly should recommend the visitation of schools,
"and the sending forth of bursars of divinity from the
"several presbyteries; and to appoint an account to
"be craved of the visitors of the provincial books,
"anent the observation of these acts, in time to come.

"V. Also, because a great part of the neglect
"doth lie upon the universities themselves, we do
"think meet that the commissioners, in name of the
"meeting, do intreat every one their own university
"to be more careful in the observance of these acts
"in time coming.

"VI. We find it necessary that the assembly be
"intreated to recommend to their commissioners, who
"shall attend the next parliament, to petition the
"parliament's ratification of those acts for bursars of
"divinity.

"VII. It was thought expedient, after the parlia-
"ment's ratification, to urge, if ministers might be
"moved to entertain at their own charges some bur-
"sars of divinity, if it were only by contributing
"one merk of the hundred of their stipends yearly.

"VIII. It was found expedient to communicate

" to the general assembly no more of our university " affairs but such as concerned religion, or that had " some evident ecclesiastic relation.

" IX. Our next meeting to be on Monday morn- " ing in this same place."

" *30th of August.*

" Conveened in the lower council-house of Edin- " burgh,—Masters Andrew Ramsay, John Adamson, " John Strang, Robert Blaire, Zachary Boyde, Ro- " bert Bailie, and William Douglass.

" *Anent Teaching of Grammar.*

" I. We find it necessary that the rudiments be " taught in English, as they are now extant.

" II. We desire that the *Leges Scholæ et Academiæ* " *Edinburgenæ* be now given or sent to the other " three universities, to be thought upon.

" III. We find it necessary that Despauterius be " interpolated; and all the universities recommend " the caire thereof to Mr Thomas Crawfurd; and the " primare is, in their name, to intimate the same to " him.

" IV. It is thought upon if *Vossii Partitiones Ora-* " *toriæ* be not fit to be taught.

" V. It is thought fit that select parts of poets be " taught to scholars, namely, such as are free of ob- " scenity."

"*Anent the Teaching of Philosophy.*

"I. That every student subscribe the national "covenant, with the league and covenant, upon some "sett day, after the same is explained in English "by the principalls and the logical professors, be- "sides that explanation which private masters give "of it.

"II. It is found necessary that there be *A Cursus* "*Philosophicus* drawn up by the four universities, "and printed, to the end that the unprofitable and "noxious pains in writing be shunned; and that each "university contribute their travails thereto. And it "is to be thought upon against the month of March "ensuing, *viz.* that St Andrews take the meta- "physics; that Glasgow take the logics; Aberdeen "the ethics and mathematics; and Edinburgh the "physics.

"III. It is thought that what is found behoveful "for the improving of learning in schools and col- "leges be represented to the parliament in March "next.

"IV. That the commissioners that come next "from the universities, either to the commission of "the kirk, parliament, or assembly, come instructed "to shew what course is taken with the students on "the Lord's Day, *viz.* what account is taken of their "*Lectiones Sacræ*, and of the sermons they have "heard on the Lord's Day.

"V. It is thought fit that, when students are "examined publicly on the *Black-staine*, before Lam- "mas; and, after their return at Michaelmas, that "they be examined in some questions of the cate- "chism.

"VI. That every university provide some good "overtures, against the mouth of March, anent the "speedy prosecution of the intended *Cursus Philoso-* "*phicus*; and, amongst others of philosophy, such as "Crassotus, Reas, Burgerdicius, Ariaga, Oviedo, "&c."

"*Anent Teaching of Divinity.*

"I. That every commissioner that comes to the "commission or parliament, in March, from univer- "sities, bring with them the order and form of "divinity professors their teaching; as also, they "are to shew what order their schools keep, that "further consideration be thereof taken by common "consent.

"II. That the visitations of the universities be "required from the assembly and parliament; that "is, that they renew their last commissions.

"III. It is ordained, that the clerk give a copy "of the *præmissis* to each university.

"*Sic subscribitur.*

"Mr William Douglass."

The members who composed this commission

were in general men of distinguished abilities, and possessed the full confidence of the universities which they represented. Some account of Mr Andrew Ramsay has been already given in the course of this work. He was now very far advanced in years; but was much esteemed for his character and abilities. He seems to have been always attached to the episcopal form of church government, which, being in direct opposition to the sentiments of the prevailing party, soured his temper; and, in church courts particularly, he became very unpopular. On this account, and in consequence of having adopted some peculiar notions respecting the power of the supreme magistrate to dispense with the execution of justice against the shedders of blood, he was deposed by the assembly in 1649.*

Mr John Adamson has also been previously mentioned; and is universally admitted to have been a man of genius. His chief work was his catechetical method of the Christian religion, composed for the express purpose of initiating the youth who were at college, and attended the schools in Edinburgh, into a knowledge of Christianity.† It is not generally

* *Vid.* Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. p. 309-338.

† The title of this work runs thus:—"ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΣΙΣ Eloquiorum "Dei, sive Methodus Religionis Christianæ Catechetica. In Usum "Academiæ Jacobi Regis et Scholarum Edinburgensium Conscripta. "Edinburgi, in Academia Jacobi Regis," 1637, in 12mo. It appears to have gone through two editions. In the course of the same year, he published "Dioptra Gloriæ Divinæ, seu Enarratio Psalmi

known that he was appointed by the Assembly, in 1647, one of the four to whom the care of revising, or rather reforming, the psalmody then in use, was entrusted. The effect of their labours was the introduction of the version now so universally employed throughout Scotland.* He presided over the university for the long period of twenty-seven years, *viz.* from 1625 to 1652. He must have possessed great prudence and moderation, to escape being involved in the factions of those turbulent times. His learning was extensive; and his contemporaries inform us that he was a man of very quick parts.

Dr John Strang represented the university of Glasgow, of which he had been principal from the year 1626. He had thoroughly imbibed a taste for the Aristotelian philosophy, and was esteemed one of the most subtle disputants of the age in which he lived. I have seen only two of his works. The first, "*Of the influence of the will of God upon human actions;*" and the second, "*Of the Sacred Scripture.*" From his correspondence with Principal Adamson, which is still preserved in the university of Edinburgh, he appears to have had good talents for business; and his printed works shew that his principles were tolerant in a much greater degree than those of most of his associates.

"xlx, et in Eundem Meditationes." He also wrote an inscription upon Buchanan in the Grey Friars church-yard, and procured his scull, which is still preserved in the college.

* *Vid.* Act of Assembly 1647, Sess. 25, in the Appendix, No. V.

Dr Alexander Colville was commissioner from New College, or St Mary's College, St Andrews, in which university he was then professor of divinity. In early life, he had discharged a similar office in the university of Sedan, under the patronage of the reformed churches of France. Besides delivering lectures on theology, he also taught Hebrew in this seminary,—the revival of the study of which language was much attended to by the protestants abroad.*

He was accompanied by the celebrated Mr Robert Blair, who took so active a share in the ecclesiastical and political transactions of Scotland. That Mr Blair was connected with the university of St Andrews there can be no doubt. I have not been able, however, to ascertain whether he was principal or professor of divinity. His character is drawn in the following words by Dr Baillie, whose candour and talents are well known:† "Of all the divines that I know in "both nations, I think none so fit for the education "of the king's children [the children of Charles I.], "for piety, learning, and good manners. I have had "much experience of his singular dexterity in that "art. The man is so eminent in piety, wisdom, "learning, gravity, and moderation, that I think his

* *Vid.* Quick's Synodicon, *passim*.

† *Vid.* Baillie's Letters, p. 247, vol. ii. This letter was addressed to the Earl of Loudon, Chancellor of Scotland, on 25th December 1646.

"employment would bring a blessing to the royal "family and all the kingdoms," &c.

But none of the commissioners were possessed of more distinguished talents than Principal Robert Baillie. His acquirements were more varied than any of his associates in this commission. He was a thorough master of those learned languages, a knowledge of which was requisite for the honourable discharge of his functions as a clergyman. His acquaintance with the languages of modern Europe was more extensive than that of almost any other literary character Scotland then possessed; and there have been few, in any age or country, whose endowments were superior. A knowledge of mankind, united to an agreeable temper, prudence and activity in business, together with great moderation in his theological and political opinions, which, however, upon proper occasions, he defended in the most independent, but conciliating, manner,—constituted him, in the estimation of both parties, as the person who was most capable to be entrusted with the management of difficult affairs. In 1638, he was a member of the assembly, at Glasgow, which laid the foundation of the present form of church government in Scotland, as well as of the civil war. In 1643, he was chosen one of the commissioners from the church of Scotland to the assembly of divines at Westminster. His letters contain by far the most distinct account of Scotish transactions between 1637 and 1662 that exists.

Of Dr William Douglas I know nothing more, than that he was professor of divinity in King's College, Aberdeen, and the author of several small treatises. I have only seen his *Vindication of Universities*, which is written with great modesty and good sense.*

Mr Zachary Boyd was the only other commissioner. He was a very eccentric character, but a worthy man, and minister of the High Church, Glasgow. He had bestowed great pains and expence on a Psalter, which he was anxious to introduce, but never could succeed. Being a man of property, the university of Glasgow partook very liberally of his munificence at his death; but all his poems have never been published.

The commissioners were undoubtedly very competent to the full discharge of the duty imposed upon them; and the zeal which they displayed, clearly shewed that they were actuated by the purest motives; and that they were anxious to conform to the instructions which had been given, two years before,

* Its title is, "Academiarum Vindiciæ, in quibus novantium præjudicia contra Academias etiam Reformatas averruncantur, earumque demque Institutio recta proponitur. Aberdoniæ, 1659, 4to."—According to Dr Douglas, there existed at this time the following number of universities among the reformed. In Upper Germany, nineteen,—in Switzerland, four,—in Holland, six, besides other *illustrious schools*, as Amsterdam, Middleburg, &c.—in Denmark and Sweden, two,—in Prussia, three,—in France, eight,—in England, two,—and in Scotland, four. Making, in all, forty-eight universities.

by the Assembly, in their overtures for advancement of learning and good order in grammar schools and colleges.* Several of the regulations in that act, however, it must be admitted, discover a decided partiality to universities, in preference to any other seminaries of instruction. Thus, it is ordained, "That neither the Greek language, nor logic, nor "any part of philosophy, be taught in any grammar "school or private place, within this kingdom, to "young scholars, who thereafter are to enter to any "college, unless it be for a preparation to their entry "there. And, notwithstanding of any progress any "may pretend to have made privately, in these "studies, yet, in the college, he shall not enter to "any higher class than that wherein due Greek "language is taught; and, being entered, shall pro-"ceed orderly through the rest of the classes, until "he finish the orderly course of four years; unless, "after due trial and examination, he be found equal "in learning to the best or most part of that class "to which he desires to ascend, by over-leaping a "mid class; or to the best or most part of those "who are to be graduate, if he supplicate to obtain "any degree before the ordinary time. And also, "that there be found other pregnant reasons to move "the faculty of arts to condescend thereto; and, "otherwise, that he be not admitted to the degree "of master of arts." The circumstances of the

* Acts of Assembly, 1645, Sess. 14.

times perhaps required this enactment, as the Scotish universities were comparatively modern institutions, and had not assumed that systematic and determinate form to which, as incorporated bodies, they were entitled, and which is now, and has been since the revolution, unalterably fixed. The liberal principles of the present age render such restrictions unnecessary, and consequently impolitic.

But the chief object which the commissioners (sanctioned no doubt by the assembly) had in view, was effectually to promote a cause which they esteemed to be of greater importance than any other. Religion was, during that period, more intimately connected with politics than it had ever been in North and South Britain; and so tremulous was the balance, that there were only two parties in the island. The Scotish protestants were at this period favourable to the presbyterian form of church government; though there were men of talents who could not in conscience conform to the sentiments of the popular clergy. There were few, however, who were even very decided in their conduct; and so vacillating was public opinion, that those who have most thoroughly examined the history of the church of Scotland, from the accession of James to the restoration, at least to 1638, have admitted that it was neither episcopal nor presbyterian, but partook of the nature of both.

Previous to the reformation, the different districts into which the church had divided the kingdom of

Scotland, had been defined, and the reformers seem to have acquiesced in the expediency of the arrangement; but, at the time of which we are now treating, a most remarkable want of ministers to occupy those different stations prevailed; and this is unquestionably the reason why the commissioners discovered so great anxiety that the church should enter with ardour, and be convinced of the necessity of instituting bursaries for assisting poor scholars in the prosecution of their studies. Both the church and the commissioners agreed upon the expediency of the plan which ought to be pursued. The great object was to promote the study of divinity, and to afford every encouragement to those who were qualified and disposed to prosecute it. In all christian countries, a similar method has been resorted to, but not exactly in the same way. The church of Scotland was at this time a very compact body; and presbyterian parity is the foundation of the whole system. It was much more easy and practicable, therefore, to arrange a mode of contribution, which should equally fall upon every member of the ecclesiastical commonwealth, than if it had been necessary to make a distinction between the different orders of clergy which exist in a hierarchy. Besides the obvious nature of the plan, they had the example of the reformed churches in France, whose universities were in a great measure supported after the same manner; and with their internal economy they were very familiar. Scotland was at this time very

poor; and although the funds were not required to be ample, yet it was difficult to obtain a sum sufficient to defray the necessary expence. The Scotish nobles were, in general, hostile to presbytery; therefore little co-operation was expected, and less obtained, from them; and any allusion which was made was exceedingly distant. A call was no doubt made upon the parishioners, which certainly included the nobility; but this was touched very delicately. The ministers, however, were applied to in very plain language, and were requested to give "one merk of the hundred of their stipends yearly." How long this mode of maintaining bursars continued I know not, or even whether it was efficient for any length of time. The assembly of 1737 repealed the act for such contributions, and nothing similar has ever been enacted; because the three shillings sterling per annum, recommended to be paid by each minister in 1756, was specially appropriated for the benefit of the Highlands and islands; and the royal bounty has superseded this also.

To give the recommendation every sanction which the law could afford, it was deemed adviseable to petition parliament for a ratification of the acts for bursars of divinity. Perhaps, in other circumstances, this was unnecessary; but there had been no high commissioner sent to preside in the general assembly since 1644.*

* There was no commissioner to the general assembly in 1644, 1645, in 1646 (the king wrote he could not send one), 1647, 1648, and 1649.

The subject which next came under the review of the commissioners, was the manner after which the youth ought to be taught grammar, that is, the grammar of the Latin tongue. This was only a renewal of their opinion respecting the long agitated controversy, whether it were better that it should be taught in Latin than in English. They preferred the former method. As an honourable testimony of their approbation of the regulations adopted in Edinburgh, the laws of the school and university were ordered to be sent to the other three universities.

Many attempts had been made to improve upon Despauter's grammar.* The commissioners recommended the task of *interpolating*, that is, polishing, amending, or correcting, that celebrated work, to Mr Thomas Crawfurd, one of the professors of the university. Whether he ever accomplished this task I have not been able to learn. He was the author of that history of the university which was printed from his manuscript a few years ago,† and seems to

* Johannes Despauterius Ninivita was a grammarian of Strasburg, who devoted his whole life to the study and the teaching of Latin grammar. His *Rudimenta* are short; but the *Commentarii Grammatici* constitute a quarto of nearly nine hundred pages, very closely printed. The first edition was published about the year 1512; and in a very short time was introduced into almost all the European schools, both popish and protestant. It continued to be taught in Scotland, in all the public schools, till it was supplanted by Mr Ruddiman's grammar.

† By Dr Duncan, senior, the present professor of the institutions of medicine.

have been a man of considerable talents, of great industry, and enthusiastically attached to his *Alma Mater*.

The works of Gerard John Vossius were in this age in great repute. He was professor at Heidelberg, and had strongly imbibed a taste for classical literature, similar to that of his ancestors. His *Partitiones Oratoriæ* may be considered as an abridgment of the *Institutiones Oratoriæ*; a work that contains a great fund of sound criticism, and is entitled to be considered as a system of rhetoric very well drawn up. His works were long popular in all the protestant universities. The care shewn to prevent the morals of the youth from being corrupted deserves great commendation.

The attention of the commissioners was not confined to the progress which the students made in their literary pursuits. An inquiry was also instituted, respecting the "course taken with them on the "Lord's Day, and what accounts were taken of their "*Lectiones Sacræ*, and of the sermons they heard "upon that day." The general temper of the country was exceedingly inclined to cherish religious dispositions, and to employ the most effectual means in promoting the knowledge of christianity. A similar practice was long prevalent in almost all the parochial churches in Scotland, and no doubt contributed most materially to the dissemination of useful knowledge. Regular habits were, besides, formed,

and a taste for what is most nearly connected with the best interests of mankind thereby encouraged.

The students were also to be "examined in some "questions of the catechism," when they were examined publicly on the "*Black-stone*," which generally took place about the beginning of August. The origin of the students being examined on what is called the *Black-stone* is involved in great obscurity. It seems to have been originally intended as a mark of respect to the founder of the college, and most probably may be traced to some ancient ceremony of the Romish church. The custom of causing the students to sit upon the grave-stone of the founder, at certain examinations, is still literally retained in King's College, Aberdeen, and in Glasgow. In Edinburgh and in Marischall Colleges there are no similar stones to sit upon; but these examinations continue to be called in the latter "*The Black-stone* "*lesson.*" I am not informed what is done at St Andrews. The Kings of Scotland were crowned at Scone; and the same stone which was made use of at performing this ceremony, is still employed at the coronation of his Britannic Majesty at Westminster. Can these ceremonies be traced to the same or to a similar source?

It constitutes a singular feature in the history of Scotish literature, that the national covenant and the league and covenant have been esteemed rather as a reproach, than as having conduced to the establishment of that system which has so long existed. It would open a very wide field of discussion, were

the political and religious effects of this association to be fully detailed. That they contributed most essentially to the welfare of the state, there can be no doubt; but the opinions of mankind are so variable, that it is difficult to decide, unless we happen to be fully acquainted with all the circumstances of the case.

'The feelings of the different parties were screwed up to so high a tone, that complete impartiality was not to be expected. The ruling party took the most effectual means to promote the popularity of the covenant, both in the church and in all seminaries of learning. The principals and the logical professors were appointed to explain it, besides what the private masters gave of it. So that all the teachers were retained in the cause; and, if they were assiduous, their influence could not fail of being formidable to those who, in the language of those times, were termed *malignants*.

The history of philosophy affords the most satisfactory proof that it is in vain to attempt complete uniformity of sentiment, the same modes of phraseology, methods of teaching, or philosophical system, in any school of learning, how enlightened so ever the teachers may be. The Greeks and Romans never seem to have tried the experiment. But this did not arise from their view of human knowledge being more extended; but solely from their ecclesiastical system being less compact and more undefined than that of the moderns. The different schools and sects,

into which the ancient philosophers were divided, were equally tenacious of their own peculiar system and modes of explaining it, as well as devoted to the authority of their founders.

Among the representatives of a body, not numerous in itself, who had all been taught a system differing in a very small degree, and at whose meetings the *character* of the university which each represented was considered by him as of the utmost importance, it was naturally to be expected that they should coalesce in the opinion that a uniform course of instruction should be established throughout the Kingdom. Associations, upon so large a scale as Oxford and Cambridge, never could co-operate so heartily in the same cause. So many different interests needed to be united, and, in short, so many individuals were required to be consulted, that, independently of the competition between the two seminaries, unanimity, how desirable soever, was to be looked for in vain.

It is certainly of the utmost importance that no gross errors, either in religion or morals, should be permitted to be disseminated; but, in regard to every other subject, the exercise of a liberal toleration ought to be granted. A perfect uniformity of opinion, whether real or pretended, is injurious to the progress of knowledge, and, consequently, to the happiness of man. How great advances have been made in every department of science within the last two centuries; and yet many well meaning, and in those days considered as learned men, exerted

themselves vigorously to describe the whole circle of the sciences, as, if no addition ever after could have been made to the stock of human knowledge. Something akin to this seems to have produced the plan of a *Cursus Philosophicus*, which at this time, and for many years afterwards, was the cause of so much discussion in the Scotish universities. This was not indeed assigned as the sole reason. It was proposed to print it, "to the end that the unprofit-"able and noxious pains in writing may be shun-"ned". This method of teaching philosophy seems to have been unknown to the ancients.* It was incompatible with the enigmatical manner in which they delivered their doctrines to their pupils; and their instructions in oratory, criticism, and other kindred arts, from the popular manner in which they were exhibited, rendered it inadmissible. The fathers of the church were equally unacquainted with this method; and so were the celebrated doctors of the middle ages. It seems to have arisen out of the Aristotelian philosophy, the nature of which superseded the introduction of those rhetorical embellishments, which the ardour of extemporary elocution is so well calculated to create, and that communicate so great pleasure to the auditors.

* As early, however, as the twelfth century, it began to gain ground. The celebrated Peter de Blois condemned the practice, as little calculated to make learned men.—Crevier's Hist. de l'Université de Paris, tom. i. p. 229.

It long continued, however, to be the custom in the European universities, both popish and protestant, to dictate a *Cursus Philosophicus* to the students; though the Roman clergy have never introduced the practice of reading their discourses on theology. The established arrangement, of one professor carrying the same set of pupils through the whole of their philosophical course, must have also contributed to its adoption, as it saved him the trouble of composing a system of lectures for himself, if he were disposed to be idle. And to so great a pitch was this carried, that, about the beginning of the last century, it had become quite common for teachers to leave as a legacy to their successors the system of instruction which they themselves had inherited. Several illustrious exceptions, however, might be mentioned. One of the most remarkable was Dr Francis Hutchison of Glasgow, who had the courage to travel out of the common path; and his example is now generally adopted in Scotland.

What effect was produced by the representation which was recommended to be made to parliament, or whether it was actually made at this time, is not known.

It appears, from some papers preserved in the library, that, during the course of this year 1647, there was a considerable correspondence carried on between Oxford and Cambridge universities and that of Edinburgh, chiefly on the subject of conferring the degree of master of arts upon gentlemen

who had been educated in those seminaries. The unsettled state of the country, is the only account which can be given of it.

So eager do the Scotish universities appear to have been to improve their system of teaching, their general economy, and to cement their mutual union, that the commissioners again met at Edinburgh in July 1648.

"*Edinburgi, in Academia Jacobi Regis, 17 Julii* 1648.

SEDERUNT.

"*From the Universities of St Andrews*, Mr Samuel Rutherford and Mr George Wiems,—*of Glasgow*, Mr David Dickson and Mr Robert Baillie, —*of Aberdein*, Mr David Lindsay, Mr William More, and Mr Patrick Gordon,—*of Edinburgh*, Mr John Adamson and Mr Thomas Crawfurd.

"I. It is agreed, that all the universities shall concur with and assist one another in every common cause, concerning the common-weel of all the universities.

"II. The former agreement is renewed, that no delinquent in any college shall be received into another college, before he give testimony that he hath given satisfaction to the college from which he came.

"III. It is agreed, that there be required of every student coming from one university to another a

" testimonial from the college whence he came, or " from the regent under whom he studied, to be pro- " duced within a month after his entry.

" IV. It is agreed, that it be proposed to every " university by the commissioners, that there may " be an equal progress in the course of teaching in " every class within the whole university."

" *Edinburgh, the* 19*th July* 1648.

" SEDERUNT.

" *From St Andrews*, Mr Samuel Rutherford, Doctor " Alexander Colvill, Mr James Reid of Pitleithy, " and Mr David Neway,—*from Aberdeen*, Mr " David Lindsay, Mr William More, and Mr Pa- " trick Gordon,—*from Glasgow*, Mr David Dick- " son and Mr Robert Baillie,—*from Edinburgh*, " Mr John Adamson, Mr Thomas Crawfurd, Mr " James Wiseman, Mr Duncan Forresten, and Mr " Andrew Sutie.

" I. It is agreed, that, at the next meeting, the " commissioners of every university shall produce a " note of those things which are taught in every " class in their university.

" II. It is agreed, that, with all convenient dili- " gence, a draught shall be framed of the course of " philosophy to be taught in colleges.

" III. It is agreed, that the draught of the course " shall be one for the colleges.

" IV. It is agreed, that every regent be tyed to

"prescribe to his scholars all and every part of the said course to be drawn up, and examine the same, "with liberty to the regent to add his own consi"derations besides, by the advice of the faculty of "the university.

"V. It is agreed, that every university shall handle "and treat the parts allotted to them before, *viz.* "St Andrews, the metaphysics, *de Anima*, Porphyry, "and the categories, with the proemial *Quæstiones de* "*Natura Habituum et Logice de Universali*, &c. and "the rhetoric; Glasgow, the rest of the logics; Aber"deen, the ethics, politics, and economicks, with an "introduction to the mathematics; and Edinburgh, "the rest of the physics.

"VI. That, in the draught of the *cursus*, the text "of Aristotle's logics and physics be kept, and short"ly anagoged, the textual doubts cleared upon the "back of every chapter; or, in the analysis and com"mon places, handled after the chapters treating of "that matter."

"*Edinburgh, 24th July*, 1648.

"SEDERUNT.

'*From St Andrews*, Mr George Weims,—*from Glas*"*gow*, Mr Robert Baillie,—*from Aberdeen*, Mr "William More and Mr Patrick Gordon,—*from* "*Edinburgh*, Mr John Adamson, Mr Thomas "Crawfurd, and Mr James Wyseman.

"I. Anent the question proposed by the general

"assembly, concerning the election of the commis-
"sioners from universities, by whom, and what per-
"sons are to be chosen,—It is agreed, that they can-
"not determine at this time, while the old acts of the
"general assembly be searched for that effect. Mr
"Robert Dalgliesh, agent for the kirk, is appointed
"to deal earnestly with my Lord Advocate, Mr
"David Calderwood, and Mr Andrew Ker, to search
"out of the registers of the assembly what hath
"been practised, before that report may be made to
"the next general assembly."

(The course of study of the different universities was then read.)

"*St Andrews.*

"That diligent students may attain to some
"measure of knowledge, not only in the Greek, but
"Hebrew tongue, and in all the liberal arts neces-
"sary to be known by them, and that they may
"have some insight in all the parts of Aristotle's phi-
"losophy,—

"It is appointed, that the regents of philosophy
"follow this course in teaching hereafter.

"In the first year, so soon as the students come
"to the college, they shall be exercised diligently
"in translating of English into Latin, and Latin
"into English, till the month of November; upon
"the which day, the common Latine theme shall be

"given; and, the morrow after, they shall begin the "Greek grammar, and shall proceed in learning "rules and practices of the Greek language, till the "month of June; and the remanent time of that "year after the month of June to be spent in learn-"ing the elements of the Hebrew tongue, that at "last they may be able to read the elements of "arithmetic, the four species at least.

"That these necessary studies be not neglected, "it is ordained, that they be examined not only in "the knowledge of the Greek, but also in the read-"ing of the Hebrew, and beginnings of arithmetic.

"In the second year, the scholars, immediately "after their meeting, shall be exercised in translat-"ing Latin into Greek, and Greek into Latin, till "the month of November; upon the which day, the "common Greek theme shall be given; the next day "after, they shall begin the ordinary studies of that "year at a logic compend; and proceed in learning "of dialectic, rhetoric, *structura orationis*, with the "practick of logic and rhetoric.

"In their declamations, till the first day of March; "at which time they shall begin Porphyry, and pro-"ceed to the categories *de interpretatione*, and *priora* "*analytica*; and upon all these shall sustain examina-"tion.

"In the third year, they shall begin the first book "of topics, with which shall be joined in teaching "the argument, or compend of the eighth book, and "thereafter the Sophist Captions, *posteriora analytica*.

"After ending of the logics, they shall be taught "the elements of geometry, the first two books "of Aristotle's Ethics, and five or six chapters of "the third book, with the argument or compend of "all the rest of the year; also a compend of meta-"physics shall be taught; and last of all the first and "second book of the arithmetic.

"It is also thought fit that so much time of the "year, as may be well spared, to be bestowed in the "practice of logic, about *thema simplex et composi-*"*tum;* and this exercise to be upon the Saturday."

"In the fourth year shall be taught the other four "books of the arithmetic, the books *De Cœlo*, the "elements of astronomy and geography, the books "*De Ortu et Interitu*, the meteors, some part of the "first, with the whole second and third books *De* "*Anima;* and, if so much time may be spared, some "compend of anatomy.

"Because the *diting* of long notes have in time "past proved a hindrance, not only to other neces-"sary studies, but also to a knowledge of the text "itself, and to the examination of such things as are "taught, it is therefore seriously recommended by "the commissioners to the dean and faculty of arts, "that the regents spend not so much time in *diting* "of their notes; that no new lesson be taught till "the former be examined.

"That every student have the text of Aristotle in "Greek; and that the regent first analyse the text

"*viva voce*, and thereafter give the same thereof in "writing."

"*Courses taught yearly in the King's College of "Aberdeen.*

"The college sitteth down in the beginning of "October; and, for the space of a month, till the "students be well convened, both masters and "scholars are exercised with repetitions and exami- "nations; which being done, the courses are begun "about the first or second day of Noveniber.

"To the first class is taught Clenard with Ante- "signatus, the greatest part of the New Testament, "Basilius M. his epistle, an oration of Isocrates, "another of Demosthenes, a book of Homer, Phocy- "lides, some of Nonnus.

"To the second class, *Rami Dialectica, Vossii "Rhetorica*, some elements of arithmetic, Porphyry, "Aristotle his Categories *de Interpretatione*, and "prior analytics, both text and questions.

"To the third class, the rest of the Logics, two "first books of the Ethics, five chapters of the third, "with a compend of the particular writes. The first "five books of the general physics, with some ele- "ments of geometry.

"To the fourth class, the books *De Cœlo, De "Ortu et Interitu, De Anima, De Meteoris, Sphæra "Joannis de Sacrabosco*, with some beginnings of "geography, and insight in the globes and maps.

"This to be understood ordinarily, and in peace-
"able times.

"*Courses taught yearly in the Marishal College*
"*at Aberdeen.*

"Unto those of the first class is taught Cle-
"nardus, Antesignanus his Grammar; for orations,
"two of Demosthenes, one of Isocrates; for poets,
"Phocylides, and some portion of Homer, with the
"whole New Testament.

"Unto the second class, a brief compend of the
"Logics, the text of Porphyry, and Aristotle's *Or-*
"*ganon*, accurately explained; the whole questions
"ordinarily disputed to the end of the demonstra-
"tions.

"To the third class, the first two books of Ethics,
"and the first five chapters of the third text and
"questions, the first five books of Acroamatics,
"*Quæstiones de compositione continui*, and some of the
"eight books.

"To the fourth, the books *De Cœlo*, *De Genera-*
"*tione*, the Meteors, *De Anima*, *Johannes a Sacrabos-*
"*co* on the Sphere, with some geometry."

The course of teaching in the university of Edinburgh has been already alluded to; and is to be found at full length in the appendix. The same plan of teaching seems to have been followed for a considerable time antecedent to this date.

The two most celebrated new commissioners who attended this second meeting were Mr Samuel Rutherfurd and Mr David Dickson. They had both taken a very active part in the public transactions of the times, and were also in the full confidence of the presbyterian party. The former was unquestionably a man of abilities; and was at this time professor of divinity at St Andrews. He was one of the commissioners sent by the Church of Scotland to the Westminster Assembly; and as he was a man of great acuteness, of extensive theological learning, and of a very intrepid spirit, he distinguished himself in the discussion of the complicated questions which were agitated, and keenly debated, in that celebrated synod.* Even his opponents admitted that he was an acute dialectician; and that he acquitted himself with applause in the public disputations which, in those days, it was customary to hold in the schools. He was an extremely popular preacher; and his various works were no less acceptable to those of his own party. The collection of his letters was posthumous; and, therefore, ought not to be subjected to severe criticisim. His strong at-

* The original records of this assembly are still preserved in the library of Redcross Street, London. This institution was founded by Dr Daniel Williams, who took his degree of D. D. at Edinburgh in 1712; and presented to the library, books, the value of which amounted to thirty pounds sterling. Redcross Library belongs to the English dissenters, where their records of baptisms, &c. are kept, and their public meetings are held.

tachment to presbytery rendered him hostile to the politics of the Stuarts. His *Lex Rex* was, by public authority, burned at the cross of Edinburgh; and, at St Andrews, "himself confined to his chamber; "his stipend sequestrated; and himself cited before "the parliament."* He had received an invitation from the university in Harderwych, in Holland, to be professor of divinity and Hebrew; but this he declined. He was cited to appear before the parliament at Edinburgh, to answer to a charge of high treason; but he died in March 1661, the very day before the *rescissory act* was passed.†

Mr David Dickson, whose early history I have not been able to ascertain, was, according to Calderwood,‡ minister at Irvine. In the year 1621, when great controversies existed respecting the most scriptural form of church government, he was, from the prominence of his character, even then distinguished as a leader. Those who are best acquainted with human nature will admit that, to be able to estimate the character of any individual, we must have had an opportunity of judging both from the impression which he made upon his contemporaries, and upon the great mass of the community of which he formed a part.

Notwithstanding the eagerness with which ecclesiastical and political disputes were then agitated, he conducted himself after a manner so becoming a

* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 446. † Wodrow, vol. i. p. 78.
‡ Cald. p. 789.

presbyterian minister, that even those who were the confidential friends of the administration of James VI. allowed that he was diligent in his ministry.*

In the year 1640 he was unanimously elected professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow. He had an honourable associate in Dr Baillie, who, doubtless, contributed in a very high degree to improve the literary and ecclesiastic reputation of that seminary. Dr Baillie and Mr Dickson conjunctly discharged the duties of professor of divinity for eleven years; and, from Dr Baillie's letters, no doubt can be entertained that they placed the utmost confidence in each other.

In the year 1650, when the kingdom of Scotland partook of that infatuation which pervaded the whole empire, and which was not occasioned by the cunning or power of one man, but by the favourable circumstances which contributed to his elevation, Dickson, who had thoroughly imbibed the principles of the Protector, was then esteemed as a proper person to be preferred. His works of practical divinity are well known.

Perhaps the history of no country can produce an example of so compact an association, in regard to promoting the cause of literature, as this of the Scotish universities.

In the course of this history, we have had occa-

* Calderwood has given a more full account of Dickson's early history, after he was minister at Irvine, than any author I have had an opportunity of consulting.

sion to mention, that, from the disturbed political state of the country, the universities of Scotland were involved in great disorder, as it respected their internal discipline. In those unhappy times, the different seminaries of learning took, and in a manner were compelled to take, a most decided part in all political transactions. The religious theories then current divided a great many of the students; and as moderation in regard to speculative opinion was then little known throughout the whole of Europe, it is not surprising that a very improper custom had prevailed among the youths, of leaving one university, and repairing to another.

In order to prevent this irregularity, the commissioners determined to express their disapprobation of such a practice; not only as it respected delinquents properly so called, but also to extend it to those who did not produce a regular testimonial from the university they had left.

When the measures which more particularly interested the universities had been hitherto conducted after so amicable a manner, it was natural to expect that some attempt would be made to accomplish uniformity in the method of teaching, the books taught, and the philosophical theories then prelected on.

On the 24th of July, therefore, draughts of the courses used in all the different universities, as we have seen, were read, that of Glasgow excepted. It is impossible, at this distance of time, to ascertain the

cause of this omission. There can be no doubt that this college had been dilatory in presenting the plan of the course; and it is even uncertain whether it was ever produced at all. Perhaps the reason was, that considerable dissension prevailed in the university at this time, in consequence of some disputes which had originated with Professor Colville; because the leading men connected with the college, and who were commissioners to this general meeting, were zealous in promoting the plan approved of by the other universities. Principal Baillie applied to Mr Spang, his relation, then minister at Middleburg, for information respecting the course which was taught at Leyden, requesting him to send it over in his first letter.* So that Glasgow appears to have been no less disposed for the adoption of the measure than the sister universities.

Notwithstanding the anxiety expressed by all parties to introduce one system which was to be taught in all the universities, their endeavours proved abortive. There was indeed very little difference in the plans pursued by them all. Trifling, however, as these were, they constituted a sufficient barrier in the way of procuring such unanimity among the parties concerned as was indispensibly requisite before it could be carried into effect. No particular *cursus* was fixed upon; and the different universities seem each to have followed the method to which they had

* Baill. vol. ii. p. 303.

been accustomed. Every professor, however, was not at liberty to teach what books or system he chose. This came under the cognizance of the college to which he belonged; and, in the case of Edinburgh, the approbation of the town-council was also necessary. The same project was afterwards frequently revived, but never accompanied with the desired reformation. So difficult is it to produce complete uniformity in matters that are perfectly indifferent.

Upon the decease of the rector, Mr Henderson, in 1646, Mr Andrew Ramsay was elected successor, and continued in office for two years; but he was formally chosen each time. Upon the last occasion, 27th December 1647, the first hint is given in the records respecting the method in which they proceeded in his election. Four persons were first nominated, Mr Ramsay, Mr William Colin, ministers, George Kincaid, doctor of physic, and James Robertson, advocate. Out of these the town-council selected one, who was soon after inaugurated, and took the oath *de fideli administratione*. It is worthy of remark, that they were all chosen from the three learned professions. In the years immediately subsequent, Mr Robert Douglas, *one of the ministers of Edinburgh*, was elected; a man of an independent spirit, and who had espoused with uncommon eagerness the principles of the presbyterians. It was he, as moderator of the commission of the assembly, that

crowned Charles II. at Scone, in 1651, as has been already mentioned.*

* The text which he chose upon this occasion was taken from 2 Kings, xi. ver. 12–17.—"And they brought forth the King's son, "and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony; and "they made him King, and anointed him; and they clapt their "hands, and said, God Save the King. And Jehoiada made a "covenant between the Lord, and the King, and the people, that "they should be the Lord's people; between the King also and the "people."

This is perhaps the most extraordinary sermon that any age or country ever produced. It is quite in unison with the temper of the times. The national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant, were in those days considered as directly founded upon Scripture; and so high was the opinion which was formed of them, that no consideration whatever could induce the ruling party in the church to refrain from pressing their indispensible obligation upon all. Combined with a great deal of enthusiasm for this cause, as well as false reasoning, the sermon contains many striking thoughts, as well as knowledge of human nature; and evidently shews that he was well acquainted with the state of parties in both kingdoms. The duty of a king is laid down; and the enemies of Charles, and to kingly government in general, are expressly named with disapprobation. The nature of a limited monarchy is described with tolerable accuracy; and some of the sentiments perfectly accord with those doctrines which were so popular at the revolution. The most singular circumstance in the whole discourse is, that the royal family are not spared. The base conduct of his grandfather James is pourtrayed; and he is warned not to follow his example.

The mortifications to which the king was subjected were extreme. *A solemn day of humiliation throughout the land*, for the sins of the royal family, had been kept upon the Thursday preceding his coronation. Yet it is doubtful whether his adverse fortune produced any other feeling, than that it prevented him from indulging in those licentious pleasures to which he had devoted himself.

The political and ecclesiastical state of Scotland was at that time so unsettled, that whatever good effects might have accompanied the adoption of any new measures, hardly any of them were ever permitted to be fully put to the trial. The universities, as being the seats of learning, took a very active part in the discussion of the topics then agitated. And this circumstance alone could not fail to injure the prosperity of their societies. Little was done in 1649; because the death of the king astonished the nation to such a degree, that almost every other object, when compared with that melancholy event, appeared to be of very inferior importance indeed.

Previous to the era of the reformation, the Hebrew language was very little known in Europe. The indefatigable labours of Reuchlin and the two Buxtorfs, who had derived their taste for Hebrew learning from the Jewish rabbins, had successfully drawn the attention of the christian world to the study of the Jewish scriptures. What they had laboured with so great industry, in process of time attracted the attention of learned ecclesiastics, in so much, that, in about a century and a half, professorships were established in almost all the universities, both popish and protestant.

In most instances, the office of professor of divinity and of Hebrew were united, though not always. The first person who publicly taught Hebrew in Edinburgh was Dr Conraddus Otto, a learned Jew, who received his appointment in 1640. How long he

discharged the duties of that professorship is not known; but about the time of which we have been giving an account the chair appears to have been vacant. Mr David Dickson had been translated from Glasgow to Edinburgh, and was now professor of divinity. When he entered upon his new labours, it was natural for him to wish for a colleague, who would both relieve him from inconvenient labour, and would at the same time contribute to the greater improvement of the students of theology, than it was in his power to do. For this purpose, it is probable that he proposed to the patrons of the university that his son, the Reverend Alexander Dickson, then minister at Newbattle, should be preferred to that chair. The proficiency of Otto in other oriental tongues besides Hebrew seems to have been fully acknowledged. When Mr Dickson, however, proposed himself as a candidate, a committee was appointed to examine into the nature of his qualifications. Five ministers of the city of Edinburgh, at whose head was the celebrated Mr Robert Douglas, already mentioned, reported as follows: "That he was very fitting to be a professor of the Hebrew tongue, for instructing of "students in the knowledge of the Hebrew text; "but, further, they could not say that he was "knowing in the oriental tongues, or fitting to be "a professor of divinity."

The patrons were satisfied with this report; and a resolution was accordingly taken by the council

of founding a new professorship, which seems to have been materially seconded by *supplications* from both the professor and students of divinity in the said college. Mr Dickson continued faithfully to discharge the duties of his office for nearly thirty years; and it is needless to add, that a professorship of oriental languages has existed in Edinburgh ever since.* He held his office for a short time only, during the council's pleasure; but he, as well as those who have succeeded him, were placed equally upon the foundation with any other member of the university.†

The agreement or contract between the lawyers and the patrons of the university, respecting the foundation of a professorship of the laws, has been already mentioned, and that this necessary branch of education was in agitation to be taught so early as 1588. It has also been observed, that, from causes which are now unknown, their generous contributions were applied to a different purpose. It was, however, with their own consent, in 1597, that the money was appropriated to the establishment of a regent of humanity and six bursars.‡ The probability is, that, after examining the subject more nar-

* Orders were given to supersede Mr Dickson in 1679, for not taking the oaths. Whether he complied, or was deposed, is not mentioned.—Wodr. vol. ii. p. 3.

† This arrangement was made 3d September 1656.—Counc. Regist. vol. xix. p. 146.

‡ Counc. Regist. vol. ix. p. 161.

rowly, all parties were convinced of the necessity of, and the advantages which accompanied, a thorough knowledge of the Latin language; being persuaded that the foundation of an accurate acquaintance both with the civil and municipal law was thus more likely to be securely laid. They, therefore, agreed that their liberality to the college should be disposed of in the way of facilitating the education of such students as were devoted to the study of the law. Intrants to the faculty of advocates, and to the incorporation of writers to the signet, were originally required to have attended that class for two sessions. The latter, I believe, still insists upon a testimonial of the candidate's having done so; but it is now disregarded by the former, nothing more being required than to pay the fees, and to acquit themselves with approbation at the different examinations upon the civil and Scotish laws,—no questions being asked what classes they have attended, or whether they have attended any. No liberty similar to this exists in any European literary incorporation.

In 1650, various consultations were again held, respecting the appointment of professors of the laws. It is reasonable to suppose that the faculty, which reckoned many able lawyers among its members, would not be indifferent to plans, which not only tended to improve the administration of justice in Scotland, and thereby to increase its prosperity, but which also nearly concerned their

own interest, and their honour as a public body. An anxiety very generally prevailed at this time to increase the number of professors, and therefore add to the sciences which were taught in the college. The patrons made application to the commission of the general assembly, upon the 8th of February 1650, for advice and assistance in this respect. This would naturally direct the attention of the public to a subject so interesting in itself, and which all the friends of literature would be disposed to patronize. It produced this effect very speedily; for, upon the subsequent 13th of March, the magistrates determined "to consider the overtures proposed by the Lord Register, for establishing professors of the laws in the college."* The nature of his lordship's office could not fail to recommend the adoption of such a proposal, independently of any personal qualifications he might possess of judging upon the subject. Previous to the union of England and Scotland, he was the fifth officer of state in Scotland. The office was not repealed by the act of union; and he had the charge of all the public records, rolls, and registers, and names of all the clerks of parliament and session, and the keepers of the public registers. It is to be regretted that the overtures themselves are not specified. It

* Counc. Regist. vol. xvii. p. 237. This was the celebrated Sir Archibald Johnstone, Lord Wariston.—Beatson's Political Index, p. 216.

is only necessary to add, that nothing was done at this time.

Upon the decease of Principal Adamson, in 1652, it was necessary to provide a successor. The patrons immediately proceeded to the election; and they fixed their choice upon Mr William Colville, with whose character and qualifications they were well acquainted. The election seems to have been conducted very amicably, and with the full approbation of all concerned. Mr Colville (of whom we shall afterwards have occasion to speak more fully, because, in 1662, he was a second time advanced to the principality), for reasons which none of his contemporaries, as far as I know, have mentioned, had repaired to Holland, and become minister of the English church at Utrecht. The connexion between Scotland and the Low Countries had been very close ever since the reformation, or the declaration of their independence by throwing off the Spanish yoke. The Dutch were *carriers* to the whole world; and their mercantile speculations were conducted upon a scale to which the history of Europe could produce no parallel. The transactions, in the way of foreign trade, of the English and Scotish nations were accomplished through the medium of Holland; and no one was supposed to have had a good mercantile education who had not resided for some time in Holland, and enjoyed the opportunity of being instructed in their methods of carrying on business. This necessarily induced great numbers

to repair thither; and those who have been educated in the same customs and habits, and speak the same language, naturally associate together, and engage in the same religious worship. These causes, together with the persecutions which the protestants in England had suffered under Elizabeth and James, contributed in a high degree to found what may be termed a British colony in the free states of Holland, where religious toleration was established in the most unlimited acceptation of the word. Churches, which were supplied by natives of this island, were therefore erected in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, &c. which have existed to our own times; and at Campvere, one of the earliest settlements, the church there was, at the beginning of the reformation of religion in Scotland, incorporated with the Church of Scotland, and still continues to be one of its constituent parts. To officiate in one of these churches was the occasion of Mr Colville's residence abroad at this time.

The invitation was regularly transmitted to Mr Colville; and he accepted of it. But, in consequence of some obstructions (as it is expressed, in the register), which are, however, not explained, the office of principal was declared vacant upon the 17th January 1653; and, as Mr Colville had given in his demission to his church, and left Holland, he was allowed a year's stipend for his trouble and expence in coming from thence to fill the situation.

Cromwell had not yet been elected protector, for

this did not take place till 12th December 1653; but the whole government was under his administration: and at no period of British history had so great energy and vigour been exhibited in every department of the state. He had the art of employing the most active agents, who were zealous in promoting his interests, and who spared neither labour nor expence in procuring information respecting the persons, sentiments, and habits, of the most insignificant of the public servants. Statements of whatever could throw light upon the principles of any functionary, or of those who were in public stations, were regularly transmitted for his information; and so systematically was the plan organized, that he possessed the earliest intelligence of whatever occurred throughout the empire. The universities were, during the whole of Cromwell's government, the objects of peculiar care and jealousy. He knew that the greater number of the members were disaffected to his usurpation; and, as the education of youth was entrusted to them, it became, in his eyes, a matter of great political importance to deprive such principals and professors of their offices as did not heartily comply with his measures. There can be no doubt that the *obstructions*, above mentioned, and which prevented the induction of Mr Colville, proceeded from this quarter, because he had formerly shewn himself to be a favourer of Charles. About the same time, and for a similar cause, the principals of King's College Aberdeen, of Glasgow,

and St Andrews, were denuded of their offices for non-conformity, and others substituted in their place. Upon the same day in which the principality of Edinburgh was declared vacant, the patrons elected Mr Robert Leighton, minister of Newbattle, who was afterwards successively bishop of Dunblane and archbishop of Glasgow. The ministers of the city were present at the election, in compliance with the terms of the charter; but they declined taking any concern in the transaction. "They mentioned, although "they were content with Mr Leighton, they could "not give their votes, because they were not clear "in the manner of the call."* They were, in general, partial to Mr Colville; and as they had before given their sanction to his invitation, they felt a delicacy in repeating it. From the vigorous and peremptory manner in which business was then carried on, it is extremely probable that express orders had been sent from London interdicting Colville's admission, and nominating a proper successor. The clergy were well aware of the hazard of opposition; and that the sequestrators were authorized by parliament, in the most ample manner, to put out and in ministers as they saw cause.† A protest, or vigorous remonstrance, would only militate against themselves; because they could have no doubt that, in case of non-compliance, the authority of the commissioners would be instantly exerted.

* Counc. Regist. vol. xvii. p. 368.

† Baillie, vol. ii. p. 371.

Leighton seems to have succeeded Mr Dickson as minister of the parish of Newbattle, and from thence to have removed to Edinburgh. In learning, in just notions of religion, and in true piety without ostentation or enthusiasm, he was not surpassed by any of his predecessors. In the discharge of his public functions as a clergyman, and as *primarius* professor of divinity, and, indeed, in arranging and conducting the complicated business of an university, he had few equals, and no superiors. He revived a custom, which had gone into desuetude, of once a-week delivering, in Latin, a lecture upon some theological subject to the students of divinity and others who chose to attend. It seems probable that his commentaries upon the Epistles of Peter, &c. were originally composed for this express purpose. Though he lived in very troublous times, yet, from his prudence and discretion, he was enabled to pass a very quiet life; and found means to be of great service to the students. After having, with great reputation, presided over the college for about nine years, he was, upon the restoration of episcopacy in Scotland, promoted to the see of Dunblane; and, in 1670, was created archbishop of Glasgow. Four years after this, he resigned his archbishopric, and afterwards lived retired.*

* His reasons for resigning his preferment are inserted in the appendix, No. VI. taken from a manuscript in the college, but whether his autograph or not is uncertain. As far as I know, they were never before published.

From the peculiar constitution of the university of Edinburgh, and its dependence upon the patrons, the latter have frequently used liberties unknown in the history of any similar establishment. Thus, for example, they borrowed the college mace in 1651, and did not return it till 1655.* The magistrates of Edinburgh could be under no necessity of having recourse to this expedient for enabling them to make a respectable appearance in public, when necessary, attended by the proper officers, and the insignia of their office. And, on the other hand, the public business of the college could not be properly conducted, nor in its usual way, without the mace. At all public graduations, &c. it was and still is carried before the principal and professors. It is reasonable, therefore, to conjecture, that it was retained in the custody of the town-council for some political reason, which is now forgotten.

The magistrates of Edinburgh are, in the strictest sense of the word, proprietors of the college, of its buildings, its library, museum, anatomical preparations, and philosophical apparatus. They have also, from time to time deposited in their own charter-house the writs which belong to the college. They do not seem to have done this from the first. The earliest notice which I have observed in the register is in 1655; and "the writs, with an inventory thereof, are ordered to be put up in the charter-house."†

* Counc. Regist. vol. xviii. p. 160. † Ibid. p. 177.

This, it ought to be observed, is often repeated afterwards.

In the course of the same year, some new arrangements regarding the humanity class were proposed. As it had been originally founded by the patrons, in conjunction with the lawyers, the latter, upon the death of the regent of humanity, seem to have recurred to their original proposal, being more and more convinced, by experience, of the beneficial effects which would result from courses of lectures being delivered on the laws in the university. As the funds were incompetent to support three professorships, a suggestion appears to have been made, that the teaching of humanity in the college by a separate professor should be discontinued; for, upon 2d April, "the patrons were to consider whether the humanity "class should be kept up or not."* The only other method they could adopt was, to revert to the original practice of causing the four regents of philosophy teach the language to their students, in the same way as Greek continued to be taught: and as their courses had now become much more extended than at the erection of the college, in consequence of the introduction of many new branches of science, this could not fail to add greatly to their academical labour. Matters, however, appear to have been speedily adjusted, because a regent of humanity was appointed a very short time after.

* Counc. Regist. vol. xix. p. 108.

The magistrates of the city were then much more particular in interposing their authority, with respect to the conducting of the business of the college, than they have been for a great many years. The principal and professors did not presume, by virtue of their own authority, to appoint the time and place of the laureation of the magistrands. The council, who were always consulted, generally appointed two of their number to meet with the *Senatus Academicus* relative to that affair.*

During the protectorate, little encouragement was afforded to literature or its votaries. The Scots felt as severely as the other British nations the iron hand of oppression; and as they were then only emerging from a comparative state of barbarism, the exertions of the studious and the learned did not produce those salutary effects upon the progress of knowledge and civilization which they would otherwise have done.

Cromwell, though no great scholar, had, however, pedantry enough to wish to be considered as a patron of learning. He was educated at Sidney College, Cambridge; and such has been the violence of party spirit, occasioned by this extraordinary man, that his apologists have not scrupled to affirm, that his proficiency in the knowledge of the learned languages was considerable. There is no doubt of his having always retained a great regard for Cam-

* Counc. Regist. vol. xix. p. 133.

bridge. In 1649-50, upon the decease of the Earl of Pembroke, he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford, when general of the English army.* And Fairfax and he, when they visited the same university, had the degree of doctor of laws conferred upon them a few months afterwards. Whether the patrons of the college of Edinburgh had received any private intimation that the Lord Protector was disposed to shew them marks of his favour is uncertain. The university of Glasgow partook most liberally of his bounty, through the interest of Mr Patrick Gillespie, a zealous republican. All its immunities and privileges were renewed, and others were added.† Presuming that possibly his generosity would also be extended to Edinburgh, as the professors had complied with his measures, it was judged proper and expedient to make the experiment. Dr Leighton, as has been already observed, was promoted to the principality, with the concurrence of the Protector, and, consequently, was esteemed to be friendly to his government. The patrons, therefore, pitched upon him; and appointed "a committee to meet with the principal, and to "deal with him for taking a journey to his High-"ness and council, for procuring an augmentation "of the rental of the college."‡ There is no doubt

* Oxoniana, vol. iv. p. 209. † Statistical Acc. vol. xxi. p. 25.
‡ Counc. Regist. vol. xix. p. 230.

of the principal having undertaken the journey; because, upon the subsequent 16th October, another committee "was appointed to meet with the princi-"pal, anent such particulars as he has to inform, "and to report."* The success of this mission, every thing taken into account, was apparently considerable. Upon the 22d January 1658, they received a grant from Cromwell of L.200 per annum.† The continuance of such a sum would have contributed most materially to the prosperity of the university; but they only enjoyed it for a short time, the Protector having died, at his palace of Whitehall, upon his favourite 3d September of the same year. All his acts were rescinded at the restoration; so that this of course had no effect. The expence of passing it at the exchequer amounted, we are informed, to L.476. 16s. Scots;‡ and it is doubtful whether the smallest benefit was ever derived from it.

Dr Leighton's zeal for promoting the prosperity of the college was very exemplary. Many changes had occurred in the directions which had been given to the members of the university, respecting the place of their attendance on public worship. They were all liable to objections. But the chief aim which they all proposed to have in view, was to form such a plan as should secure the regular attendance

* Counc. Regist. vol. xix. p. 253. † Ibid. p. 271. ‡ Ibid.

of the students. Towards the end of the year 1658, the principal, sensible of the inconveniences and injurious effects which resulted from their being allowed to wander from one place of worship to another, and being himself strongly impressed with the indescribable importance of forming religious principles and habits in the minds of youth, laid a proposal before the town-council, in which he offered "to preach in the college hall to the scholars, in the "afternoon of the Sabbath day, once in two, three, "or four weeks, *per vices* with the rest of the professors."* From this, it appears that the ancient practice of attending the morning service of the principal still existed. The regents were most commonly what is called in the ecclesiastical law of Scotland *preachers of the gospel.* It was therefore deemed adviseable to take advantage of their labours. I know not whether strangers were admitted on these occasions. Though doubtful how long this exercise continued, I am inclined to think that it existed during the remaining part of Leighton's presidency.

The industry of philosophers was never more actively exercised than about this period. The discoveries of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, and the writings of Gassendi (who was aided by the indefatigable Peiresck), communicated a new ardour to the human mind. What principally accomplished this was

* Counc. Regist. vol. xix. p. 389.

the application of mathematics to physics, of which Des Cartes may be considered as in a manner the author. It does not appear, however, that the *new philosophy* had as yet reached Scotland; and it was only partially known in England. Sir Isaac Newton did not demonstrate geometrical problems by infinite series until 1665, and he was then only twenty-four years of age; though it must be confessed that his master, Dr Isaac Barrow, afforded *data* for the discovery.

Mathematics were at this time not very generally studied in Scotish universities. Metaphysics, rather than physics, engrossed their attention. This, there can be no doubt, they derived from the school of Aristotle. There is one circumstance which it would be improper to omit, that a great number of the Scotish professors, during this age, were either educated, or had spent a considerable time, in France. Those students who were protestants, and could afford the expence, either completed their education at the same seminaries, or at some of the universities of the states of Holland.

Gassendi's works were read with enthusiastic admiration by the French and Dutch protestants. It need not be matter of surprise, then, that his writings became quickly popular in Scotland as well as in England. They are very miscellaneous; and contain many philosophical doctrines, which, if not entitled to be considered as original, he has arranged

in a new form, and confirmed by many additional illustrations. He was an admirer of the Epicurean philosophy, and taught its doctrines with great reputation at Montpelier; and it is well known that Mr Locke was more indebted to Gassendi than to any other philosopher.*

The confusion which accompanied the restoration of Charles II. in 1660 affected all ranks. But the universities of both kingdoms suffered more, from the public station in which they were placed, than any other class of the community. The most summary measures had been resorted to in England; but the distance of the Scotish universities, the comparatively slight interest they excited, the little communication between the two countries, and the ignorance of the court of the real state of Scotland, combined with the great difficulty of arranging the politics of the crown, withdrew the attention of government, for nearly two years, from introducing any change into the universities.

The patrons of the university, together with the *Senatus Academicus*, partook of the feelings which pervaded all ranks in the nation. Great manifestations of gladness, and the most extravagant rejoicings, prevailed everywhere. Loyalty rendered the empire quite giddy. It operated like a charm; and such

* There is a drawing of Gassendi in the library of the university; but its history is not known. It is not in the same style with that of Buchanan, which has of late been copied by a celebrated artist from England.

was the emulation of individuals and public bodies, that, dissatisfied with their accustomed expressions of attachment to regal government, they introduced some novelty, in order to testify their sympathy with the general feeling of the country. When the college hall was getting ready for the reception of the students to attend public worship in the afternoon of Sundays, the laureation could not be celebrated in the usual place. The common exercises and disputations, therefore, were maintained in Lady Yester's Church, but without attracting more than ordinary attention. But, upon so joyous an event as the restoration of the exiled family, it was resolved that the annual public appearance of the *magistrands* should be accompanied with circumstances not introduced on ordinary occasions, but with such as should convey an idea of the welcome with which so happy a deliverance was hailed by the university. Accordingly, the same church was again selected as the theatre upon which this public exhibition was to be made. The inhabitants of Edinburgh were taught to expect something vastly superior to what had been witnessed on former laureations. The court, instead of profiting by the adverse fortune they had been compelled to endure, plunged at once into an excess of gaiety, and even of dissipation. The moral principles and habits of the heads of the college, of course, prevented them from imitating the latter; but they indulged in the former, as far as was consistent with the gravity of

their character. All classes of the people were permitted to be present, both male and female; and the doors were thrown open. Whether the company were entertained with music during the interludes (as is the case at the graduations at King's College, Aberdeen *), we are not informed. Various political

* The following account is taken from an appendix to Spotiswood's History of the Church of Scotland, and is in many respects curious. The work itself is now become very scarce.

"The time of the commencement of masters of arts in King's College, Aberdeen, is in July. The manner thus: Before the day appointed, those who are to receive their degree do publish their THESES, inviting all learned men to come and dispute. At the day appointed, great preparation is made; the *candidati* are apparelled in black, with black gowns; and, at ten of the clock, all go into the public school, where the professor of philosophy, or regent, who is to confer the degree, makes a long speech (beginning with a prayer) to the auditors; which being ended, the disputes begin, and continue till four or five of the clock. Then they take a little refreshment, and so return to the graduation or laureation.

"The regent doth tender to the *candidati* the following oath:—

"Ego A B, coram Omniscio et Omnipotenti Deo, religionem et fidem, unicam et solam orthodoxam, in Ecclesia Scoticana palam propositam, professurum me, et ab omnibus pontificiorum et aliorum quorumcunque hæresibus longe abhorrentem, spondeo, voveo, juro. Insuper, universitati huic, almæ parenti, cui hanc ingenii culturam debeo, liberaliter relaturum me nutritiam quam potero, eâdem fide solenniter promitto. Quod si fidem sciens et volens fefellero, arcanorum cordis recessuum scrutatorem Deum, ultorem et vindicem non recuso. Ita me adjuvet Deus."

"After the oath, one of the *candidati* ascends the desk; and the regent, taking into his hand a hat or cap, with these following words, doth give him his degree.

disputations that had a reference to kingly government, and which, as might be expected, had a tendency to illustrate its advantages, were introduced, much to the satisfaction of the audience, who retired from the church highly delighted with the performances of the students, their apparent proficiency in their studies, as well as the assiduity of the regent under whose care they had been for four years. The laureation was held upon the 11th July; but, in the course of the preceding week, the patrons had arranged the business; and, in particular, had given "warrant to the regents of the college to exact from 'their scholars, in their magistrand year, before the "laureation, betwixt L.3 and ten merks, for keeping "of the diets; and part will be returned to such as "keep good order; and the provost to be oversman

"Ego eadem auctoritate, quam summi ac potentissimi principes almæ huic universitati amplissimam indulsêre, te A B, in artibus liberalibus, et disciplinis philosophicis, magistrum creo, proclamo constituo, renuncio: tibique potestatem do, legendi, scribendi omniaque id genus alia committendi, quæ hic, aut ubivis gentium, artium magistris concedi solet. Et in signum manumissionis tuæ, caput tuum hoc pileo (putting the cap on the scholar's head) adorno; quod ut tibi felix faustumque sit, Deum optimum maximum precor. Insuper, librum hunc tibi apertum trado, ut ingenii tui aliquod specimen coram celebri hoc cœtu edas, rogo."

"Then the graduate hath a short speech to the auditors; and so the ceremony is ended with clapping of hands, sounding of trumpets, shouting, &c. Thus are all the *candidati* graduated, one after another. The same way almost is used in all the universities of Scotland."—Appendix to Hist. of the Ch. of Scot. p. 42.—Lond. 1677. 4to.

"between masters and scholars."* The regents, no doubt, were subjected to considerable additional trouble, some short time before the day of graduation, in order that their pupils might acquit themselves to the best advantage. But this small sum was not designed as any remuneration on that account. It was rather intended as a check upon the students, and as a reasonable security that they would give their attendance regularly. If they did not, a fine could easily be exacted from them.

During all the troubles of this century, the Scottish universities were much harassed. When Cromwell was established as protector, the English judges and sequestrators possessed "a very ample commission to put out and in ministers as they saw cause, "to plant and displant our universities."† And, at the restoration, a similar revolution was projected. Upon the promotion, therefore, of Dr Leighton,‡ Mr William Colville was admitted principal of the university in 1662;§ and had been offered the same

* Counc. Regist. vol. xx. p. 162.

† Baillie, vol. ii. p. 371.

‡ Dr Leighton must have been in very considerable favour with the ministry of Charless, as well as of Cromwell. There were only fourteen bishoprics in Scotland. As it was resolved on to restore episcopacy, only seven bishops were appointed at first, of which number he was one. The other seven were filled up in the course of the subsequent year.

§ He was at this time minister of Perth. He was allowed 500 merks to pay the expences of his coming to Edinburgh.—Counc. Regist. vol. xx. p. 105-156.

office in 1652. Of Dr Colville's early history little is known; but, from the frequency of his name being mentioned in the transactions of the general assembly, it is evident that he had been an active member. Whatever his real sentiments were respecting church government, his conduct shewed that he hesitated in publicly avowing, for some time at least, the sentiments of either party. The doctrine of divine right and absolute obedience was espoused by him as early as 1648; and he even went so far as to attempt forming a party. From these causes, he was suspended, along with Mr Andrew Ramsay, from the office of the ministry, by the assembly; which sentence was revoked in 1655. The episcopalian party represented him as a man of a very moderate temper; and that he had been offered several Scotish bishoprics, but would never accept of preferment. He was the author of a work entitled *Ethica Christiana*, which was in considerable repute in those days. His sermons on the "Righteous Branch" discover a great vein of piety, and that his religious opinions corresponded with the doctrine of the Westminster confession.

The accounts which have been transmitted to us of the professors of the university at this time are exceedingly imperfect; and the political and religious dissensions which then existed have involved their real history in great obscurity. Professor David Dickson died in 1664; and was suceeded by Dr William Keith, a man of extensive learning, of

great moderation, and very retired habits. He devoted the whole of his time to the discharge of his public duty, the cultivation of theological learning, and in acts of charity. He was admirably acquainted with the school logic; and was esteemed one of the best rabbinical scholars of the age. He died in 1674.

In consequence of the intemperance with which both the presbyterians and the episcopalians conducted their affairs, it is not astonishing that the party in power discovered great violence in the measures which they recommended to government. The grand object of imitation which they proposed to themselves was England, particularly the hierarchy and all its appendages. During the civil war, the universities had been stripped of their most valuable possessions. These had been alienated from them, and bestowed upon the creatures of Cromwell. The brightest ornaments of those seats of learning were forced to comply with the terms of the usurper, that is, compromise their consciences, or resign their livings. The university of Oxford had been reformed by Archbishop Laud, under the sanction of Charles I. in 1636. But these statutes were not regarded from the time of the king's death till the restoration, and perhaps were never before fully acted upon. The church, upon that event, and consequently the universities, resumed their ancient splendour.

Scotland, though far inferior as to wealth, and whose seminaries of learning could never vie with

their southern neighbours, manifested a strong disposition to imitation. Those members of the different universities who were obnoxious to the ruling party were dismissed from their offices; and those who were more in favour were preferred. This change did not so materially affect Edinburgh as the other Scotish universities. In 1654, Cromwell gave orders to remove the principals of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. Those who succeeded were obliged to subscribe an acknowledgment to the English. Similar measures were now resorted to; for, in 1665, "an order was issued by the privy council, "appointing all scholars who have university degrees "conferred upon them to take the oath of allegiance "and supremacy, otherwise that they be not ad- "mitted to receive their degrees."*

During the course of 1665, some unpleasant altercation between the patrons and the university took place. As generally happens, it originated in a cause sufficiently frivolous. It was the universal practice for the regents of the European seminaries to exercise discipline, or to chastise with the rod such of the students as were unruly, or had committed any trespass within the college, which implied a breach of the laws, and of such a nature as to demand public correction. Something of this kind had been administered to the son of the chief magistrate of the city. Great offence was taken at this. The

* Wodrow, vol. i. p. 228.—This was in August, when the students were generally graduated.

regent, in imitation of his colleagues and predecessors, had used his own discretion as to the manner and degree of the punishment he should inflict. But the Lord Provost was of a very different opinion, affirming that the patrons ought to have been consulted. He determined, therefore, to wreak his vengeance upon the university, and to assume the whole executive authority into his own hands. Having proceeded to the college, and exhibited some very unnecessary symbols of his power within the city, on the 10th November he repaired to the council-chamber, and procured the following act to be passed. "The council agrees that the Provost "of Edinburgh, present and to come, be always "rector and governor of the college of this burgh "in all time coming."*

From the foundation of the college, to the erection of the see of Edinburgh by Charles I. when in Scotland, in 1633, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh was always considered to be chancellor of the university; in short, that this office, together with that of vice-chancellor, resided in the magistrates and town-council of Edinburgh, who, as has been repeatedly mentioned, are the sole patrons. This dignity seems never to have been formally conferred upon any single person. When Edinburgh became the seat of a bishopric, some feeble efforts were made to annex the chancellorship to the bishop of the diocese *ex officio*. But the unsettled state of the country,

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxiii. p. 118.

the attention of government being directed to matters of much greater importance, and the abolition of episcopacy in 1638, only five years after the foundation of a bishopric in Edinburgh, prevented this affair from being brought to a final issue. During the prevalence of presbytery, the right of the patrons was never called in question; and, from the restoration to the revolution, it never appears to have been agitated. From the last period, to our own times, the Lord Provost has held the office of chancellor; and the third Bailie, who is designated College Bailie (but at what time this name was first applied to him I have not learned), may properly be considered as vice-chancellor.

The privileges of the university are the same with those of any other in the kingdom. It may be with good reason, therefore, doubted, whether this assumption of the two offices of chancellor and rector by the same person were valid in law, or sanctioned by the charter of the university. The founders never seem to have imagined that such a case would ever happen, and therefore have made no provision against it. But, according to the practice and long established custom of all other universities, the boundaries of each were distinctly marked, and the precise duties of the two offices delineated with an accuracy which could not be misconceived. The only important effects which this disagreeable business produced were, that it was the cause of corporal punishment being banished from the university, and

that no rector has since that time been elected. The *Senatus Academicus* have repeatedly made an effort to revive the election to the office of rector, and have as often failed of success.

The only other circumstance which occurred during this year (1665), worthy of being mentioned, is, that, upon 1st September, Paulus Stialitt Rabin, a converted Jew, was admitted to teach the oriental languages.* The records render it uncertain how long he continued connected with the college; and of his general history I am unable to give any account.

In the month of June 1666, the business of subscription was again resumed; and acts were published of a much more peremptory nature than any which have yet been mentioned. The advisers of Charles, in regard to Scotish affairs, were exceedingly anxious to secure the favour of the universities; but their zeal for unqualified conformity to episcopacy, and submission to the measures of the court, was unbounded, to which every thing was made to yield. The students of Edinburgh and Glasgow colleges were much more refractory at this time than either those of St Andrews or Aberdeen. Their conduct, therefore, gave great offence. The truth is, that the greater number were disaffected to government, especially those who were students of divinity. The compulsory methods employed to procure acquiescence with the principles of the hierarchy, and to

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxiii. p. 103.

renounce those of the presbyterians, were the surest means of rivetting their prejudices, and encouraging their opposition to every measure adopted by the king, whether salutary or not. The privy council began with those who were candidates for the degree of master of arts, and published the following act.

"The Lords of his Majesty's privy council, consi-
"dering that, before the beginning of the late
"troubles within this kingdom, no scholars were
"admitted to colleges or universities to receive de-
"grees, or the name of the master of arts, till they
"first took the oath of allegiance, and that the
"practice of that necessary duty hath not for many
"years been in observance; yet it may be of most
"dangerous consequence that any should be ad-
"mitted to degrees, whereby they may be fitted
"and qualified to serve in church or state, except
"they be such as are content to give evidence of
"their loyalty: Wherefore, the said lords have
"discharged, and hereby do discharge, all masters,
"regents, and teachers, in universities and colleges,
"to laureate or admit to degrees any of their scholars,
"till first they take the oath of allegiance; and re-
"commend it to the archbishops and bishops to see
"this act receive due obedience within their respec-
"tive bounds."*

This act of the privy council, respecting the students, was only designed as preparatory to what

* College Records

was to follow. They were well aware that the hold they had of the students was much more feeble than the authority they possessed over the principals and regents. It ought to be observed, that the acts which were at this time made comprehended all the Scotish universities. They, therefore, determined to reach the regents. Upon the 9th October, therefore, the Lord Provost and Magistrates received "an order from "the Lord Commissioner, commanding him to take "care that the masters and professors produce a "testificate from the bishop of their having taken "the oath of allegiance, and conformed to the church, "as by law established."* The commissioner to parliament at this time was the Earl, afterwards Duke, of Rothes, a man who at one time had warmly espoused the cause of the covenanters, and had suffered a tedious imprisonment in consequence of his zeal in their behalf. When he had joined the opposite party, like all renegadoes, he became much more zealous and active in promoting the views of his new associates, and persecuting his old friends. The temper of the commissioner was such as to render him a fit tool in the hands of the Duke of Lauderdale, the sole director of Scotish affairs, whose dependant he at this time was. Naturally incapable of sympathy or of friendship, he beheld without pity or remorse the severities and cruelties he was the means of inflicting.

The act itself was only a republication of an act

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxiv. p. 40.

of parliament in 1662, which had never been carried into effect. Its tendency was well understood by both parties; but the affairs of Scotland required so delicate management, that it was seldom or never appealed to. The substance of the act was, that no masters, principals, regents, or professors, be admitted or continued in any university or college, unless they be pious, loyal, and peaceable, submitting to and owning episcopal government as now settled, and that they swear the oath of allegiance, and report a certificate thereon.

The influence, or rather the tyranny, which was thus at the discretion of the prelates, was unlimited; and they exercised it with an unsparing hand. The clergy, as a body, had seldom or never been entrusted with so great civil power; and, in all protestant countries in particular, they had waved accepting of it,—esteeming it as rather the proper province of the civil magistrate. The language used, in this order of the Lord Commissioner, places it beyond a doubt that the bishops administered the oath of allegiance, and were constituted the sole judges of what ought to be considered as conformity to the church. Laws had been enacted, in which it was declared that the clergy ejected or silenced by the bishop of the diocese were guilty of sedition if they presumed to preach. Landholders forfeited a fourth part of their rents,—tenants and citizens a fourth part of their substance, the freedom of their corporations, and the privilege of trades, and were

subjected to whatever corporal punishment the privy council might chuse to inflict.*

When so rigorous measures were adopted in regard to other bodies in the state, it would be absurd to suppose that an equal degree of strict compliance was not insisted on from the universities. Accordingly, in less than three months, the Magistrates of Edinburgh received a second order from the same authority, commanding "The four bailies to go over "to the college, and get the primar and regents cer- "tificate of their submission to the present govern- "ment; and, in case of refusal, to declare their "places vacant."† So peremptory a mandate would never have been given had they been as hearty in the cause as the ecclesiastic rulers wished. None of them had rendered immediate obedience; but whether any of the regents suffered deprivation is not known. I only find, from the register, that Mr William Cumming, professor of philosophy, gave in his demission about this time, which was accepted;‡ but he got some consideration for his services. It is probable, therefore, that they had all complied. Such was the infatuation of the episcopal party, that, even in pursuing such violent measures, there can be no doubt that their object was to render themselves as popular in the country as possible.

* Parl. 1663, ch. i. ii.

† Counc. Regist. vol. xxv. p. 1.—This took place upon January 4. 1667.

‡ Ibid. vol. xxiv. p. 43.

The political state of the kingdom was at that time in so great confusion, that the attention of philosophers was distracted; and the encroachments which were made upon the proper discharge of their public and private duty relaxed their ardour. The history of Scotland affords few instances of the appearance of men of distinguished talent from the restoration to the revolution. In a few years, however, as was naturally to be expected, the professors of the Scotish universities wished to shew that their principles were as loyal, and that they were actuated by similar motives with their brethren in England.

On the 27th of January 1672, the commissioners from the different colleges met in the university of Edinburgh.

"From St Andrews, Dr Andrew Bruce; from Glasgow, Mr John Tran; from the Old and New Colleges of Aberdeen; Mr Alexander Middleton; from Edinburgh, Mr William Colville and Mr William Keith.

After calling upon God for his assistance, they made choice of Mr William Colville, primar of the college of Edinburgh, to be their moderator; and Mr William Henderson, bibliothecare of the college, to be their clerk.

"I. They first agreed upon a petition to the Lords of his Majesty's privy council, desiring that, by their act, they would discharge all but masters and professors in the universities to gather together and teach the youth of this kingdom those languages and philosophy which are taught in the universities,

"II. That the correspondents aforesaid shall consider of the Lords answer to their petition for the execution thereof.

"III. That the committee appointed by the council to visit and cognosce upon the grievances of the universities, may report to the Lords of council that, by their act, the several universities be discharged to receive any students coming from another university, unless he report a sufficient testimonial from all the masters, or, at least, from the respective primar and master of the college where he was formerly: And, likewise, that this course shall be followed anent the laureation or graduation of any student coming from another college to seek the degree.

"IV. That none shall be admitted *per saltum* to superior classes, till they have first passed the due time in the classes preceding; excepting only such as come from foreign nations, who, after competent trial and examination, shall be found qualified."

The universities received a very speedy and civil answer from the council, the tenor whereof follows.

"*Edinburgh, 1st February* 1672.

"Forasmuch as it is necessary for the advancement of learning, that all due encouragement be given to the professor and masters of universities and colleges; and that the practice of some persons, in taking upon them, without warrant or allowance of any in authority, to draw together numbers of scholars, and to teach them those lan-

" guages and parts of philosophy which are proper " to be taught in universities, is contrary to the " laws of this kingdom, and tends exceedingly to " the prejudice of universities and colleges, by ren- " dering some of the professions therein altogether " useless: Therefore we, Lords of his Majesty's privy " council, do hereby prohibit and discharge all per- " sons whatsoever, who are not publicly authorized " or allowed, conform to the act of parliament, " to gather together any number of scholars, and to " teach them philosophy or the Greek language; " and grant warrant to direct letters, at the instance " of the professors and masters of any of the uni- " versities or colleges of this kingdom, against all " such persons as shall contravene this act; charging " them to desist and cease from so doing in time " coming, with certification, if they fail to give " obedience, other letters shall be directed to charge " them thereto *simpliciter*, under the pain of rebellion: " And, in regard diverse inconveniences and abuses " are occasioned by receiving into universities and " colleges scholars who have come from other colleges " without sufficient testimonials: For remeid where- " of, we the said Lords do ordain, that no scholars " who have come from one college be admitted and " received into another college or university, without " a sufficient testimonial under the hands of the " master of that college from whence they came, or " at least under the hand of the principal regent or " master, under whose special charge they were:

"And siklyk, that degrees be not conferred upon "any students, who have gone from other colleges "without sufficient testimonials, in manner foresaid, "in favour of the persons to be graduate; and "ordains these presents to be published at the "Market Cross of Edinburgh, and other places "needful, that none pretend ignorance.

"Extracted by me,

"AL. GIBSON."

The members of the different universities had now either silently acquiesced in, or indirectly declared their adherence to episcopacy, and to the political principles of those who were at the helm of affairs. It was natural to expect, therefore, that when, as a body, they solicited the patronage and sanction of the privy council, that their application would be respectfully attended to. The liberal principles, which permit men of literature or science to make a discreet use of the talents and acquirements they may happen to possess, were then unknown in Scotland; and, as far as I have been able to ascertain, were then, and for a long time afterwards, confined in their operation even within the English colleges. The extension of this liberty must no doubt, in a great measure, be ascribed to the more general diffusion of knowledge; so that it may be considered both as an effect and as a cause. The more immediate occasion of this mode of instruction becoming popular at first, was the astonishing

impression which the Newtonian philosophy produced upon the public mind.

No satisfactory reasons are assigned for the restriction of the privilege of teaching Greek, or giving lectures on philosophy, to the universities alone. The truth is, that the country was generally disaffected. Being principally composed of presbyterians, they did not relish the hierarchy nor arbitrary government, with which they considered it as inseparably connected. The universities were on this account more thinly attended. Those whose finances could afford it, repaired to foreign seminaries; and those who could not, were contented with private teachers at home, from whose instructions they had an opportunity of profiting, without being necessitated to submit to a test with which their consciences could not comply. No notice whatever was taken of the oath of allegiance and supremacy in the act itself; although it cannot be doubted, that the chief disadvantages under which the universities laboured, ought to be ascribed to its being imposed. They do not seem to have been thoroughly divested of mutual jealousy, because they applied for and obtained the sanction of the council to authorize the prosecution of one sister university by another, when any irregularity in regard to the admission of, or conferring degrees upon, students was committed.

Both the commissioners and the council expressed a desire that students should go through the regular

course, and that none should be admitted *per saltum* to superior classes. Foreigners, however, who should be found competent, were to be excepted.

There are two circumstances which have occasioned great difficulty in recording correctly the history of the university, the first of which has been already alluded to. In 1663, "the Magistrates came down "with their halberts to the college, took away all "our charters and papers, declared the provost per- "petual rector, though he was chancellor before; and, "by the act alledged in the protest, or some others, "at the same time, discharged university meet- "ings."* Whether those papers were ever restored to the university is unknown; the probability is that they were not.

The second cause which has occasioned a chasm in the history of the university, was the terror which all its members entertained of their records being subjected to a similar dilapidation. Other departments of the state experienced equal violence during the calamitous reign of Charles II.; because the records of the privy council (from 1678 to 1681), when episcopacy was in its full vigour, are not to be found. The leading men in all the universities either really were or pretended to be attached to the House of Stuart. And as the equal administration of the laws, in which liberty consists, was then unknown, it

* *Vid.* the case of the university of Edinburgh, with respect to their right of choosing a member to the general assembly, 1723.

is not surprising that mutual confidence was in a great measure destroyed.

The members of the university seem to have been very compliant in their measures, and unwilling to give any just cause of offence. It was impossible, nevertheless, for them to conduct themselves after such a manner as to escape censure. They were placed in such a situation, that their conduct was not only exposed to the rigid examination of the king's party, but their interest, and in most instances their inclination, was in direct opposition to that of all other teachers.

How rigidly soever conformity to episcopacy was exacted by the bishops, and however compliant the patrons of the college were to their most extravagant demands, they both seem to have been disposed to indulge the students in the common and even the fashionable amusements of the country. Archery had become very general among all ranks, at the time whereof we are treating. It was then introduced; and at first chiefly practised by the higher ranks of society; but, by degrees, their example induced great numbers to apply for admission, and to submit to receive instructions in this ancient art. It has been suggested, and I think upon good grounds, "that a plan seems to have been formed "by the jacobitical party, for instituting, under a "pretext of sports and recreations, a military corps: "which, as occasion offered, might assemble under

"authority of law."* Whether this was the case or not, one thing is certain, that it became a very common amusement among all classes. "The trea-"surer of the college, therefore, upon the the 4th of "July 1673, received orders from the town council "to pay to cause put up a pair of butts in the col-"lege, for the colliginers recreation."† It was in 1676, however, that the archers obtained letters patent, erecting them into a company for that purpose.

It has been already mentioned at what time an attempt was made to arrange the college course after such a manner, as that more time should be allowed to the students to apply to the study of mathematics. The boundaries of that science were, at that time, beginning to extend; and its high rank, as one of the best handmaids to the improvement of physics, was beginning to be perceived by the philosophers of Europe. In 1672, a Mr George Sinclair had received ten pounds sterling, as salary for one year, as professor of mathematics. How long he had discharged the duties of the office cannot now be stated. It was upon the 3d of July 1674, that James, the greatest of the Gregorys, was translated to the university of Edinburgh. He was then in the prime of life, being only thirty-five years of age. His friends and the public had formed the

* Arnot's Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 356.

† Counc. Regist. vol. xxvii.

highest expectations from the talents of this extraordinary philosopher; who, when only twenty-four years old, invented the instrument called, after him, the Gregorian telescope. He published his discovery at London; and, soon after, repaired to Italy, where the mathematical sciences were then cultivated with uncommon ardour and success.

His genius for speculative mathematics was of the very first order. The attention of geometricians was, during the period of his short but splendid career, strongly directed to the doctrine of curves. The idle attempt to square the circle was almost altogether exploded; but the enterprize had called forth great ingenuity, and had been the cause of many discoveries in pure geometry. Mr Gregory, in 1668, published at Venice a new analytical method of summing up an infinite converging series, by which the area of the hyperbola, as well as the circle, could be computed to any degree of exactness. The practice of the mathematicians of that age was much calculated to promote emulation. They were in the habit of communicating propositions to one another, by way of a challenge, but without the demonstration. Sir Isaac Newton and Mr Gregory maintained a correspondence in this way, and stimulated each other in the prosecution of their favourite study. Of the great mathematicians of that age, in the faculty of invention in pure mathematics, he was inferior to Newton alone.

Being known to, and having formed personal

friendships abroad with the most celebrated mathematicians of the age, he returned to the place of his nativity; and, soon after, taught the mathematical class in the university of St Andrews. Auspicious, however, as the commencement of his career promised to be in Edinburgh, it was of very short duration; for he was cut off by a fever in December 1675, having only possessed the professorship about eighteen months. The circumstances of his death were very affecting. He was deprived of his sight about the very time he was engaged in shewing the satellites of Jupiter one evening to some friends through his telescope, and died a few days after.* The patrons of the university generously presented his family with seven hundred merks, as they were far from being opulent.†

The most unmitigated severities, and merciless persecution of the presbyterians, raged at this time.‡ The most trifling opposition to government, or to the prelates, or even a vague suspicion of disaffection, subjected all ranks in the nation, not only to inconveniences, but to imprisonment and death. It was calculated that about seventeen thousand persons of all ranks suffered by means of what was termed "letters of intercommuning;" by which all communication whatsoever with those who were outlawed was interdicted, and they became liable

* Dr Grierson's Delineations of St Andrews, p. 214.

† Counc. Regist. vol. xxviii. p. 130. ‡ Cloud of Witnesses and Wodrow, *passim*.—Laing, vol. ii. p. 66. &c.

to the same punishment with him whose necessities they had relieved, or to whom they had shewn acts of common humanity. Society in Scotland at this time was in the most distracted state. Parents and children, husbands and wives, masters and servants, and, what was esteemed to be above all in those days of religious zeal, ministers and people, were discharged from intercommuning under the severest penalties, or doing the smallest offices of civility or kindness to one another. The rich and the poor, the peer and the beggar, numberless helpless females and orphans, were indiscriminately involved in this barbarous edict of an unrelenting and blood-thirsty priesthood.

It need not therefore excite surprise that the universities felt, and that severely, the malign influence of the plan of government pursued by a misguided and impolitic court, whose cruelties, and total ignorance of the art of governing, and indulging the harmless prejudices of the people, had conjured up a numerous and powerful host of enemies; who, in process of time, succeeded in overturning their dynasty. The students of divinity, in particular, seem to have been very few. For, by an act of council, "the professor of Hebrew's salary was ordered to be reduced to seven hundred, instead of eight hundred merks, in consequence of the few students of divinity that attend him." Episcopal ordination appeared to the nation at large to supersede the necessity of a tedious course of theological study; and, besides,

they did not conceive that the examination or sanction of a bishop was a proper trial of the qualifications of a candidate for the ministry; and, as they abhorred prelacy in every shape, they looked upon the pretence of a bishop communicating the Holy Ghost, in the ceremony of ordination, as the grossest profanity. The students, by mixing with those who had imbibed these sentiments, could hardly fail of imitating their example; and were as much attached to presbyterian parity as any class of the community.

After Dr Colville's death, Mr Andrew Cant succeeded to the principality.* His history is not well known. Whether he be the same person whom Addison mentions in one of his Spectators, and of whom there is a portrait in Marischall College library, is uncertain, though there is a great probability that he was. There is also a portrait of him in the university of Edinburgh; and the one bears a strong resemblance to the other. It has been supposed, however, that he was the son of this Mr Andrew Cant. He was ten years principal of the university.

Harsh or violent measures never fail to introduce contention, and to injure the prosperity of any institution; but it produces this effect in a powerful degree in every society which has for its object the advancement of literature and science. The perni-

* He was elected Primar and Minister of the East Church of St Giles, upon 29th September 1675.—Counc. Regist. vol. xxviii. p. 101.

cious consequences which resulted from the mismanagement of the rulers, were observed and felt by all; yet no salutary remedy, or such as the exigency of the case demanded, seems ever to have been proposed. To reform or correct abuses, even such as were most offensive, was far from their thoughts, and still farther from their inclination. Matters, however, had proceeded to such an extremity, that it was at last determined to have recourse to a royal visitation. Such expedients have universally been devised in troublous and critical times. They have seldom been attended with much benefit to either party; because the evils which required to be cured have generally arisen out of the injudicious officiousness of those very persons who have been appointed to this duty, and been intended to serve some political purpose. That this was the state of the case in regard to the university of Edinburgh, cannot admit of a doubt. The object evidently was to crush all those who were hostile to the court and its measures.

The authority for the visitation was communicated in a letter from the King to the Lord Provost; and, what was uncommon in those days of the most abject sycophancy and compliance, it occasioned considerable altercation between the civil and the ecclesiastical rulers. The provost, from time immemorial, had taken precedence within the city of every other person, excepting the king and the lord chancellor. To so great a height of insolence and presumption had the court favour advanced the

bishop of Edinburgh, that he unblushingly laid claim to the right of precedence, which was of course resisted by the town-council. This historical fact throws great light upon the tone of temper of the ecclesiastics during the reign of Charles II. and is the more extraordinary, that both the bishop and provost were violent advocates for the present measures, and mere tools of Lauderdale and Rothes.

Alexander Young was bishop of Edinburgh. He had been formerly archdeacon of St Andrews, and educated in a manner under Sharp. In consequence of his being a zealous defender of his great patron, he was raised to his present preferment. The provost was Sir Andrew Ramsay (the son of Mr Andrew Ramsay, who was the first rector), a man of a sufficiently violent temper, who was made chief magistrate eight times successively. He had held that honourable office twice during Cromwell's government, under whom the most slavish submission to his peremptory and very unceremonious commands was a matter of course, not to be reasoned upon, but to be instantly complied with. He was found very convenient to Charles' ministry in Scotland; and, in particular, had recommended himself to the good graces of Lauderdale, who, by means of Ramsay, managed the city politics as he chose to direct. He had interest to prohibit the annual election of magistrates in Edinburgh; and no fewer than twelve were declared incapable of public trust, because they would not be sufficiently submissive to him. He is repre-

sented as having been a bankrupt trader.* Notwithstanding these and many other objections, he was created a Lord of Session, in return, it is said, for seventeen thousand pounds extorted as gifts from the town of Edinburgh. There can be little doubt that Ramsay had calculated upon the favour of the ministry at this time; otherwise, he would not have acted so decidedly in regard to the procession to the college visitation. The reasons for the precedence of the provost, as they were presented to the council, are here inserted, not on account of any great importance attached to the question, but because several allusions are made, and facts stated in it, which illustrate the history of the university.

"*Edinburgh, 2d November* 1675.

"The same day, the Lord Provost reported, that there was to be a meeting in the college, by virtue of the King's Majesty's commission, anent the visitation of the colleges in Scotland; and, because the Bishop of Edinburgh was first named in the commission, therefore he pretended to precede, which was an encroachment upon the priviledges of the good town; and, therefore, his Lordship had consulted the matter, and produced the consultation; which being read, the same was unanimously approved, and appointed to be recorded in the council books, whereof the tenor follows:—Some reasons represented by the

* Laing's Scotland, vol. ii. p. 66.

Council of Edinburgh for the precedency of the Provost in all commissions sitting within the good town, and relating to their own affairs.—There being a commission granted by his Sacred Majesty to several persons for visiting the college of Edinburgh, it is pretended by the Bishop of Edinburgh that he ought to have the precedence, during that employment, from my Lord Provost of Edinburgh, because he is nominated in the said commission before the Lord Provost: Although the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh are fully reserved to bestow all due respect upon, and to give all due encouragement to, the Bishop of Edinburgh, whose person, as well as function, shall be always very dear to them, yet they humbly conceive that the Lord Provost has right to precede in that meeting, being thereto induced by the following reasons:—*Primo*, His Sacred Majesty has, by his express grant and warrant, 14th September 1667, ordained and allowed that the Lord Provost of Edinburgh shall take place and have the precedence of all the subjects next and immediately after my Lord Chancellor within the precincts of the city of Edinburgh, and liberties thereof; in which warrant, his Majesty has, in granting precedence to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, above all his subjects, comprehended the Bishop of Edinburgh. And, in excepting only the Chancellor, he has allowed none to precede. His Majesty, in that letter, does declare, that the reason inducing him to grant this priviledge to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh is, because he

designs to allow him, and his successors, the same priviledge in his chief city of Scotland which is enjoyed by the Lord Mayor of London and Dublin: And it was very just his Majesty should be as kind and bountiful to the capital city of this his ancient kingdom, as to the capital cities of his Majesty's other kingdoms. But so it is, that neither the Bishop of London nor Dublin did ever pretend to take the precedency from the respective Mayors, or to precede. His Majesty, at the erection of the bishopric of Edinburgh, in 1633, did expressly declare, that the erection of the same should be without prejudice to the city and Magistrates of Edinburgh, and to all their priviledges. His Majesty, by his royal charter, has united and annexed the college of Edinburgh to the royal burgh of Edinburgh, and has declared the same part and pertinent thereof. Likeas, by the saids rights, they are declared patrons of the said college; and it is just they should have been the only patrons, since they both founded and doted the said college; and since it stands upon their ground, so that in them concur all the titles upon which a patronage can be founded by the common law; and it is no less undeniable, that the patron ought to precede within the place where he is patron; and it is very well known, that a debate arising for precedence at meetings within the college betwixt the Magistrates of Edinburgh and others gave occasion to his Majesty to declare the precedence in favours of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh. As the precedence of

the Lord Provost of Edinburgh is more reasonably founded in matters concerning the college, than in any thing else, for the reasons foresaid, so it would be a great discouragement for the citizens of Edinburgh, if their Magistrates had not the chief hand in administering the common good by them mortified. Likeas, as to the Bishop of Edinburgh's pretence of his being first named in the commission, it is humbly conceived that nominations which pass in course, *et ex stilo*, do not derogate from express priviledges, which cannot be taken away, but by deeds equally express. The point decided by his Majesty in the first letter was, who should precede; but all that was considered in this commission was, who should be present; and the ranking of either noblemen or officers of state in commissions, or other papers, does not prejudge their precedence which they have otherwise right to, as could be instructed in many acts of parliament and commissions, where lords of regalities are sometimes nominated before shirreffs and stewarts, and sometimes stewarts before both; and, in public papers granted by the king, sometimes the marischall is placed before the constable. But it seems the reason why the Bishop is placed before the Provost in this paper is, because the Bishop is of a degree which gives him a dignity and authority everywhere; but the Provost's precedence extends no further than within the precincts and liberties of the good town. Nor does it from this follow that, therefore, the

Lord Provost should not precede within the good town. The Magistrates of Edinburgh conceive themselves obliged by their oath to maintain this among their other priviledges of the good town; so that to depart from it might infer perjury against them. Whereas the Bishop of Edinburgh, by quitting his precedency, is only put in the same condition with the rest of all his Majesty's subjects, and yeilds it not to them, but to his prince, who is the common fountain and source of precedency. Likeas, thereafter, the council humbly intreated the Lord Provost to adhere to his precedency, as being an indispensible priviledge of the good town."*

The Lord Provost was successful; and the Bishop felt himself under the necessity of submitting.

The most rigorous measures could not restrain the students within the bounds which the orders of the privy council prescribed. Some or other of the members of the university were daily guilty of disobedience; and, notwithstanding the strict vigilance of the officers appointed for the express purpose, a considerable number escaped detection. This encouraged them to continue the practice. The great hazard they ran, instead of deterring them from persisting in attending illegal meetings, produced quite an opposite effect. It was esteemed a mark of heroism, as well as a proof of superior address, to evade the snares that were laid for them. Conven-

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxvii. p. 114.

ticles were even held in Edinburgh; and the united co-operation both of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities was unable to suppress them. Information had, however, been given of a private meeting which had assembled with the greatest secrecy. Several of the persons present were taken prisoners. It is not mentioned where they had met. But John Nicol, the janitor of the college, had been very active in rescuing them from the officers. The town-council espoused the cause of government; and Nicol was first accused, then suspended, and finally deposed from his office upon 8th November 1676.*

No steps which they could possibly take could produce compliance. This is strongly illustrated from the circumstance, that it appears, from the register, that the magistrates held a secret council with respect to the members of the university taking the oath of allegiance in 1677. The plan they agreed to adopt is not mentioned.

In 1679, Alexander Amadeus Florantin was appointed professor of Hebrew. It is evident, from his name, that he was a foreigner. He remained for a short time only in the college.

The privy council, still sensible of the inefficacy of these orders to procure conformity, had recourse, in 1681, to an extraordinary measure. The regents were commanded to take security for the good behaviour of the youths under their care. This was

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxviii. p. 199.

certainly the most effectual method they could invent to injure the prosperity of the college, by preventing numbers from repairing to it. Though it speedily produced bad consequences, so resolute was the government, and so intent upon accomplishing the plans they had originally proposed, that difficulties, which would in other circumstances have been esteemed formidable, were now disregarded. Every thing was made to give way to the despotic politics of a misguided court; and no apology, however reasonable, was sustained for disobedience.

Upon the decease of James Gregory, the patrons gave licence to a Mr John Wood, who had taught the mathematics privately in the city, to teach in the college, and allowed him a room for that purpose. No reason is assigned for not preferring him to the vacant professorship. The application which he made to the town-council does not contain any other request, than merely permission to teach in the college, which was readily granted. He was afterwards promoted to the chair; and appears to have taught the mathematics for about seven years in the university; and was succeeded by David, nephew to James Gregory, in 1682. David Gregory was also distinguished as a mathematician; and a greater salary was allowed him than to any of his predecessors. Its annual amount was L. 1000 Scots. His treatises on *Optics* and upon *Physical and Geometrical Astronomy* are still held in estimation. He enjoyed the mathematical chair nearly nine years; and when Dr Bernard

proposed to resign the Savilian professorship at Oxford, Mr Gregory became a candidate, repaired to London, and was admitted a member of the Royal Society; an honour which at that time constituted an introduction to any mathematical or philosophical chair in the British empire. He was admitted a member of Baliol College, and so favourable were the recommendations which he had received from Sir Isaac Newton, Dr Halley, Dr Wallis, and others, that he was quickly incorporated master of arts, and created doctor of medicine. He resided at Oxford till 1710, when he died. He was at this time busily engaged in assisting to prepare a collection of all the works of the Greek geometricians. His chief coadjutors were Bernard and Halley.

In 1684, the Scotish nation was in the most distressing and pitiable situation that can be imagined. They had been exposed to the most barbarous and bloody persecution. But, as if their cup of misery had not been full, the privy council ordained, during the course of this year, "That whosoever owned, or refused to disown, the declaration, on oath, should be put to death, in the presence of two witnesses, though unarmed when taken." This excited the greatest terror and consternation throughout the whole country. The state of society had now become such, that, in Edinburgh, attention to ordinary business was neglected, and every one was jealous of his neighbour. On this account, the patrons judged that it would be most expedient that there should be

no public laureation this year, but that it should be in private. The students had now become so few, that it appeared to be scarcely worth while to observe the public ceremony; and, besides, as the persecuted party threatened retaliation, it was hazardous and unfair that the graduates should be exposed to danger, without a sufficient reason; because they could not obtain their degree without taking the oaths imposed by government.

During this disastrous period, the magistrates of Edinburgh, nevertheless, found leisure to attend to the appointment of professors to the different chairs as they became vacant, and even to endow new professorships. Mr John Menzies was advanced to be professor of divinity; but held that office for a very short time, and was succeeded by Mr John Strachan, 4th January 1684,* who shall be afterwards mentioned. The foundation of a medical school was also attempted in 1685; and Sir Robert Sibbald was appointed first professor.† In about six months afterwards, Dr Halket and Dr Archibald Pitcairn were added as colleagues. The former appears never to have commenced author; but the celebrity of the latter as a physician, a teacher of medicine in the university of Leyden, a poet, a classical scholar, and as a man of uncommon genius, is so universally acknowledged in this country, that any panegyric on these heads would be superfluous

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxx. p. 274.

† Sir Robert's own account of this is inserted afterwards.

in this place. Neither Halket nor Pitcairn ever delivered any medical lectures in Edinburgh.

Upon the 9th of December 1685, Dr Alexander Monro was appointed principal. It has been frequently alleged, but I think without sufficient evidence, that Dr Monro, upon his expulsion from the college, carried away with him several of the records. Party spirit at that time ran so high, that it was quite common for recriminations of this kind to be exchanged upon a very slight foundation. He had been educated at St Andrews; had spent some time abroad; and was universally allowed to be a good scholar, and a man of talents.* He was decidedly, however, in favour of episcopacy; and, at the revolution, was one of the first sacrifices which were made. It is a very singular circumstance, but there exists the most undoubted evidence from the council register, that the declaration of the Prince of Orange was presented to the magistrates of Edinburgh by Dr Monro† upon the 13th February 1689. The chancellorship was at this time held by commission. Such an order, one would have thought, should have been transmitted to them. The history of this curious transaction is lost. The doctor performed his part of the duty; but demitted his office

* Dr Monro received his degree, in February 1682, in the theological schools of the New College at St Andrews, from the learned Dr Comrie, then vice-chancellor of the university.—*Vid.* Apology for the Clergy of Scotland.

† Counc. Regist. vol. xxxii. p. 297.

in the subsequent May. The acts of the privy council respecting the taking of the new test had been vigorously carried into execution; and, in imitation of the former *regime*, no apology whatever for non-compliance was sustained. Dr Monro had shewn a very decided opposition to this measure. He and Dr John Strachan, professor of divinity, suffered most severely. During the year 1689, very little was done towards removing the disaffected from public stations; but, when William and Mary appeared to be firmly seated on the throne, their adherents declared themselves with much greater confidence.

Upon the 4th of July 1690, an act of parliament was passed for visitation of universities, colleges, and schools; and the visitors were appointed to meet upon the 23d of the same month, that they might divide themselves into several committees, and lay down common rules for regulating the mode of their procedure. There were in all eighty-three visitors, who composed four committees, whose powers were very ample.

1. They were authorized to inquire and take exact trial of the masters, professors, principals, regents, &c. if any of them be erroneous in doctrine; and as to popish, arminian, and socinian principles, which is to be searched from their dictates, or to receive information from other persons who have been conversant with them, or have heard them.

2. To inquire and take trial if any of the masters,

&c. be scandalous, or guilty of immoralities in their life and conversation.

3. To try if any of the masters be negligent; and to inquire how many meetings for teaching their scholars they keep in the day; and what time they meet; and how long they continue these meetings; and how the masters attend and keep them; and what discipline they exercise upon the scholars for their immoralities and non-attendance; and, particularly, to inquire at the masters anent the office of *Hebdomadarius*, and how faithfully that it is exercised; and how oft they examine the scholars on their notes; and to take trial what pains they take to instruct their scholars in the principles of christianity; and what books they teach thereanent, for the subject of these sacred lessons; and what care they take of the scholars keeping the kirk, and examining them thereafter.

4. To inquire into their sufficiency; and that their dictates be searched; and if they be suspect of insufficiency, to ask questions, and examine them, as the committee shall think fit.

5. To inquire and take trial what has been the carriage of the masters since the late happy revolution, as to their majesties government, and their coming to the crown; and to inquire into their dictates, or papers emitted by them; what are their principles as to the constitution of the government by king and parliament.

6. Likewise, to call for the foundation and law of

the universities, and to consider how they are observed; and to try how they have managed their revenues, and especially anent the money given for buying books to their libraries; and any mortifications, stents, and collections, and vacant stipends, and other monies given on any account to the said colleges; and if the mortifications for the several professions be rightly applied.

7. To inquire and try the professors of divinity what subjects of divinity they teach, what books they recommend to the *theologues*; and if they be remiss and careless in causing their theologues have their homilies and exercises, and frequently disputes on points of divinity, as it is required.

8. To inquire at the said hail masters, &c. if they will subscribe the Confession of Faith, and swear and take the oath of allegiance to their majesties King William and Queen Mary; and to subscribe the certificate and assurance ordained to be taken by an act of parliament in July 1690; and if they will declare that they do submit to the church government as now established by law.

9. That the committee appoint such of the masters as they shall find cause to attend the next general meeting of the commission; which order shall be equivalent, as if a citation should be given to them for that effect.

The spirit of these instructions plainly exhibit no partiality to Jacobitism. They, indeed, evidently

shewed a disposition to scrutinize most rigidly both the principles and the moral practice of those who favoured episcopacy. Very few could have successfully withstood so strict an investigation. Their private and public conduct was to be submitted to the discretion of the visitors. Their conversation,—the books taught,—the dictates they delivered to the students,—and, in short, their whole demeanour, was to be exposed to the most severe investigation. Nothing was to be omitted, which either related to the conduct of the professors in private, or had the least connexion with their public duty.

After having investigated the conduct of schoolmasters, the visitors next proceeded to the principal and professors of the university. Dr Monro, as has been already mentioned, was more obnoxious than any of his colleagues. On this account, and being head of the university, they began with him. Upon the 27th of August 1690, the visitors assembled in the upper hall, and Sir John Hall, Knight, Provost of Edinburgh, was chosen preses.

Ten articles were exhibited against him. Some of them, it must be confessed, were of a very trifling nature. Others, had they been substantiated, involved the moral character of the doctor; but the principal stress was placed upon his disaffection to the revolution, and attachment to the exiled family. Accordingly, the chief reason assigned for his deprivation is his declining to take the test, which, in his printed defences, he does not deny. He was deprived of his

office on the 25th September 1690, and the sentence confirmed by the Earl of Crauford, president of the council. He had resigned the office of minister of the High Church of Edinburgh; and, upon his expulsion from the college, he performed the duties of an episcopal clergyman in Edinburgh, and died in 1715, much respected.

Dr John Strachan, professor of divinity, and minister of the Tron Church, was next called before the visitors. His libel contained similar charges with those against the principal, but not expressed in nearly so strong language. Besides disaffection to government, Dr Monro had been accused of socinianism, as well as arminianism; but Dr Strachan was only accused of the latter. The visitors acted as if they had been anxious to associate episcopacy with popery; and, therefore, in the libels put into their hands, they are directly charged with both.

It would appear that Dr Strachan had expressed himself, concerning the eucharist, in terms which could only be interpreted as ambiguous. His words were, *Præsentiam credo modum nescio.* He did not deny having used such expressions in the course of his prelections to the students in the divinity hall. So little understood was that controversy, and so unwilling were the admirers of the discipline of Geneva to admit of any seeming coincidence of opinion respecting the sacrament with the Popish or Lutheran churches, that the defenders of Calvin's system have not expatiated upon the peculiar opinions entertained by the reformer himself; but have, in

general, declined quoting the words employed by him. The professor, therefore, was in this instance fully competent to answer his accusers, because Calvin's real sentiments upon this subject appear to have been more obscure than even those of Luther. Dr Strachan was expelled the university at the same time with the principal.

What contributed very much to give them confidence, was the favourable manner in which the visitors treated Mr Andrew Massie. He had been a regent in the university of Aberdeen before he came to Edinburgh.† His compliance with the politics of the times was very accommodating. He was also accused of want of discipline, great carelessness in the discharge of his public duty, and his general conduct so notorious, that it was even the subject of common conversation among the students. Representations against him were given in to the visitors, upon which they pronounced no judgment; because, according to the episcopalian party, he had taken the oaths to the new government. Yet two gentlemen, the one a doctor of medicine,* and the other a master of arts, had given this information.† Upon the whole, both parties were so much under the influence of prejudice, that the impartial administration of justice was not to be

* Tradition ascribes this interference to Dr Pitcairn or Dr Sibbald.

† Mr Massie afterwards demitted his office, 11th October 1703; but not in consequence of any charge against him.

expected. Beside the principal and professor of divinity, there were expelled at the same time Mr John Drummond, professor of philology; Mr Alexander Douglas, professor of oriental languages; and Mr Thomas Burnet, professor of philosophy.* Dr David Gregory, who had also refused the test, was connived at for a short time. His celebrity as a mathematician, and his reputation as one of the earliest and most popular lecturers on the Newtonian philosophy, together with his causing his pupils perform exercises upon it when they took their degrees, and thus introducing the doctrines of Sir Isaac to the Scotish school, rendered them unwilling to injure the university by too rigid an inquiry into his political principles. In a very short time, however, he left their society; for, in 1691, he was admitted Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford.

There can be but one opinion respecting the incalculable advantages which Scotland has derived from the revolution. These, however, were in those days not so obvious; nor were the passions of men

* The following is an extract from Fountainhall's Decisions, from which the political sentiments of Mr Burnet may be gathered:—"October 15. 1686. The Town Council of Edinburgh make choice "of Mr Thomas Burnet, regent in Aberdeen, in place of Mr Robert "Lidderdale, their regent, deceased, who was recommended by the "Chancellor [the Earl of Perth was at this time Chancellor], having "this last summer dedicated printed Theses to the Duke of Gordon, "asserting the King's absolute power; and the Magistrates complimented him with their presence at his entry."—Vol. i. p. 425.

sufficiently moderated to render them competent judges: neither had the experiment been long enough made. The Scotish universities were nearly unanimous, at least there was a decided majority in favour of the Stuarts. In Edinburgh and Glasgow difference of opinion did exist; but in St Andrews and Aberdeen the greatest zeal prevailed in favour of James. Of all the universities, however, the declaration of that of St Andrews was the most public and avowed. On the 3d of November 1688, the rector, vice-chancellor, heads of colleges, &c. addressed a letter to the king, to which was subjoined another letter from the primate (who was *ex officio* chancellor), and all the other Scots bishops. Both of these letters were signed with the names and designations of the addressers. The political principles which they contained are of the most absolute and despotic kind. They professed the most unqualified approbation of the king's measures, and gratitude for the favours he had conferred upon them. In consequence of these letters (which were published a short time afterwards) having excited so very little attention, that government seemed to have taken no public notice of them, it is reasonable to infer that the administration of William and Mary were principally intent upon making an example of the university of Edinburgh, and thus affording a warning to those seminaries which were situate at a distance from the centre of the nation. It is proper, nevertheless, to add, that Glasgow suffered pretty severely, the visitors

having expelled the principal, Dr Fall, Dr Weymes, professor of divinity, and Professors Blair and Gordon. They were treated, however, with the greatest mildness and civility; and the only charge exhibited against them was their refusing the test.

CHAPTER VII.

Dr Rule appointed Principal—Professors of the Hebrew and Greek Languages appointed—A Professor of the Civil and Scots Law proposed—Visitors appointed—A course of Philosophy proposed to be Printed and Taught in all the Scotish Universities —Sir Robert Sibbald.

The visitors of the university of Edinburgh, who acted under the authority of parliament, immediately proceeded to recommend to the patrons to appoint successors to those whom they had expelled.

Previous to this, however, the magistrates determined to proceed regularly, and to give the whole business at least the appearance of the most mature deliberation. They, therefore, appointed one of their own number, Mr Henry Ferguson, "to take up a list of the names of the professors in the college." The probability is, that he was empowered at the same time to remove such as were obstreperous; and that, however mildly the minute was expressed, that this was well understood by all parties. They made choice of Dr Gilbert Rule as principal. This

person had warmly espoused the cause of the covenant; and, by his talents and activity in defence of presbyterianism, had become exceedingly obnoxious to the malignants. That he was a man of considerable enterprise there can be no doubt. He had been a regent in the university of Glasgow, and taught there with considerable reputation. He was afterwards sub-principal of King's College, Aberdeen; and, before the restoration, was minister of Alnwick, in Northumberland. He was ejected by the *Bartholomew Act*, in 1662, repaired to Scotland, and was imprisoned in the Bass.* Upon his giving a bond of five thousand merks to leave the country in eight days, he was set at liberty. He went to Holland, studied medicine, and took his degrees. He practised for some time at Berwick; but, being persecuted there also, he received an unanimous call to Dublin, where he preached for some time.

Upon the prospect of his favourite form of church government being re-established, he returned to his native country, and was appointed the first

* He was sent to the Bass in consequence of having baptized two children in the town of Edinburgh. Mr Rule was a licensed and indulged minister; the privy council, however, sent him to the Bass, because "he knew, by his Majesty's indulgence, they are restricted "from using any part of their ministerial function within Edinburgh, "or two miles round it." The council were willing, in May, to change his confinement to the town of Edinburgh, upon his finding caution to preach in private there; but this he refused to do.—April 8. 1680, Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 99.

principal after the revolution. The favourers of episcopacy were accustomed in those days to undervalue his talents, and to make odious comparisons between him and some of his predecessors. But the truth is, that their theological systems were so different, that it was impossible for either party to judge impartially. Dr Rule's moral and religious character was excellent; and, if we are to judge from his works, his talents were respectable, and will bear to be compared with the greater number of those with whom he entered the lists in controversy.

His treatise, in answer to Dr Stillingfleet's "Unreasonableness of Separation," is written with great temper, and is at least as formidable as the work to which it is intended as a reply. In his extreme old age, he wrote an answer to a work of Dr Monro's against the new opinions of the presbyterians of Scotland, in which he stiles himself *Miles Emeritus*. He discovers a thorough acquaintance with the subject.

Mr Laurence Dundas, who afterwards taught humanity in the university with so great reputation, and for so long a period, was appointed one of the regents; but, previous to his being elected, the visitors had passed an act, "That, in all time coming, none be admitted masters or regents of universities and colleges, but such as are pious, learned, and well qualified; and, to the effect that their qualifications may be the better known, the lords, and others of the said commission, do hereby statute, enact,

and declare, that, in all time coming, no regent or master of a class (albeit they have a presentation thereto) be admitted or received in any university or college within this kingdom without a previous trial; and program to be affixed upon the gates of the university or college into which he is to be received, inviting all persons to be present and dispute for the place; and in case, at the day fixed, any person compear and offer to dispute with the person so presented, upon any problematical subject, it is hereby declared, that he shall be holden and obliged to dispute with any person so offering to compete; and also, that he undergo a trial, by examination or otherwise, as the judges of the said university or college shall think fit: And which judges, at advising of the dignity and merit of the parties competing, are to consider not only the abilities and learning of the said parties, but also their piety, good life, and conversation; their prudence, fitness for the place, affection for the government of church and state now established, and their other good qualifications complexly; and the party most worthy is to be preferred to the said place: And in case any master or regent shall be hereafter received into any of the said universities or colleges, without undergoing the foresaid trial, by program and dispute, in case of competition, their admission is hereby declared void and null; with this provision always, that the principals, professors of divinity, and other professors in the said universities and colleges, shall not be holden to

undergo any such trial at their admission; but that they shall be presented, admitted, and received, as formerly."*

Whether these regulations, which were certainly judicious, and had the force of law, were attended to for any length of time, is uncertain. A new incitement, however, was given at this time to all the Scotish universities; and they discovered a most anxious desire both to improve their methods of teaching, and to extend the number of the languages and sciences taught.

In all the universities of Europe, both popish and protestant, the precise line between the province appropriated to the professorship of Hebrew and that of divinity had not been very accurately defined. The professor of theology in general performed the duties of both. It has been already mentioned, that the professor of Hebrew, as well as his colleagues, held his appointment only during the pleasure of the patrons. How long this continued to be the case is uncertain. It was now, however, resolved, that to teach this ancient language should occupy the sole attention of one professor; and, to secure him attendance, that none should be allowed to study divinity without a certificate from him. It is only of late years, however, that this wise and salutary regulation has been strictly adhered to. Mr Alexander Rule, son of the principal, was appointed professor.

* College Record.

The visitors encouraged every suggestion which they thought was calculated to promote the prosperity of the university. No separate professor of Greek had as yet been appointed. The study of this noble language was conjoined with that of the Latin and the elementary branches of philosophy, as it is at this day in some of the Scotish universities.

A proposal was at this time made for encouraging the study of Greek in the college of Edinburgh; and which, as it laid the foundation of a separate professorship, deserves to be inserted in this place.

"It is certain that, according to the method the Greek tongue is at present taught in the college of Edinburgh, and the other universities in Scotland, a sufficient progress therein can never be expected from the students, there being only one year allotted to it, which is scarcely enough to acquire the rudiments of it well, or to master the grammar. And the regents being obliged, after the first year, to begin their course of philosophy, the scholars, either having got but a small taste of the excellence of the language, which is not sufficient to make them fall in love with so useful and agreeable a study, or else discouraged from the laboriousness of it, all thereafter depending on their own industry and private application, do for the most part abandon and neglect it; whereby few or none of our country ever arrive at any exact or accurate knowledge of that tongue, though it be the mother-tongue of all learning whatsoever; in which also that sacred part of

scripture, the New Testament, was wrote at first, together with many valuable discourses and commentaries of the fathers thereupon, which are justly esteemed over all christendom, for the eminent learning, as well as profound piety, displayed in them; not to mention that famous version of the Seventy. And what a shame is it that other nations should so far outdo the Scots in this? The lords of the honourable committee for visiting schools and colleges were lately sensible of this; and, therefore, made an overture of establishing a Greek profession, and were pleased to shew some concernment about it.

"Now it is proposed by a young gentleman, formerly of this college, who has made it his business for some years to understand that language, and spent some part of his time at Oxford for that effect, where he had the opportunity of conversing with a Greek, who was well seen in the ancient as well as modern language of his country, that if the magistrates of the place, and the other patrons of the college of Edinburgh, shall think fit to give and allow him the name of honorary professor of Greek within the said college, and permit him to take scholars, and teach within the college, and be under such a character as the professors of Hebrew and mathematics are, he will not require any pension or salary, but depend upon any casual benefit by scholars, till afterward some fund be thought of for the encouragement of that study.

"And, lest this may be taken as an encroachment on the province of the other masters, who deserve very well, and who are only hindered to perfect their scholars in that study from the shortnesss of the time allowed them, and their engagement to profess and teach philosophy,—he proposes this in a way and manner not at all prejudicial to them; on the contrary, rather subservient and useful to them: for he is not to undertake to teach any thing that uses to be taught by them, but to proceed where they are obliged to break off, that is, to teach nothing but authors, in order to perfect and accomplish in the said tongue such as, when they have passed the bajan class, resolve to push the matter farther than they have occasion to do in the time. It is plain, there cannot arise the least reflection on the honour of the professors already settled, since it is well known they advance their scholars as great a length in Greek as the time to which they are restricted will allow.

"All obvious objections seem to be removed; and seeing there are designs framing for having that language taught to better purpose than has been hitherto, this may be embraced in the mean time, till those be brought about: And it is not doubted but a considerable advantage will from hence accrue, as well to the students of divinity as others, who, from such a help, will be invited to improve themselves in a study they are but just entered upon, and otherwise must needs leave off, by reason of the difficulties that will appear insuperable to young men, if abandoned to their private industry. So it

is hoped the reverend the principal, who all his time has laboured to better and reform the college, will please to take the matter into his consideration, to represent it favourably to the magistrates, and make a report so soon as can be done conveniently; the rather, because the gentleman that proposes the thing must not lose his time; but if he meet not with encouragement in his own college and country, must seek for it somewhere else."*

The study of the Greek language was comparatively of a late date. The service of the church being composed in Latin, insured a preference with which the Greek could not compete. Notwithstanding the superior claims upon theologians which the Greek possessed, in consequence of the New Testament being written in that language, yet there is no doubt that, for many centuries before the revival of learning, it was almost entirely unknown in the west of Europe. In the twelfth century, so little acquaintance had they with Greek, that Aristotle and the Greek fathers were perused in very defective Latin translations. Even after the sacking of Constantinople, in 1453, it required the lapse of a great many years before a knowledge of it was generally diffused. Its progress was much slower than might have been expected. It had been first imported into Italy, and the study of it patronized by the pope. Francis I. established a professorship in the univer-

* Records of the College of Edinburgh.

sity of Paris. Henry VIII. his rival, founded a Greek professorship at Cambridge in 1540, the only institution of the kind in England.

About the time of the revolution, the necessity of paying more attention to the cultivation of Grecian literature became more apparent; and an ambition to emulate our southern neighbours was more generally spread. All the Scotish universities were equally sensible of the want of a professor, whose sole business should be devoted to the teaching of Greek; and all the five colleges appear to have concurred in establishing such an appointment. Who the person was who made the above proposition is not mentioned; but the reasons which were assigned weighed with the patrons; and, in the course of a few years, induced them to make the profession of Greek a separate establishment in Edinburgh. This judicious arrangement has continued ever since.

The visitors, who were not afraid of the charge of innovation, received whatever suggestions were submitted to them with the greatest readiness. They also approved of no student being allowed to enter the divinity hall, without having studied Hebrew, under the regular professor. According to the original constitution of the college, the principal, as has been already mentioned, is *primarius* professor of divinity. It was now again proposed, that he and the ordinary professor should both teach divinity, and print their course; but this was never complied with. The inconvenience and expence to

which those who had chosen the profession of the law were exposed had also been long felt; it was therefore recommended that professorships of the civil and Scots law should be erected; and the reasons assigned were the following.

"Universities,"* it is said, "are naturally designed for breeding youth in all sorts of good learning; so that it is not one or two colleges, as of philosophy and divinity, that make an university; but they must be *generalia studiorum collegia;* and so long as they want any necessary profession, they never attain their true design.

"Among all the parts of human literature, there is none so immediately subservient to the good, yea the very being, of society, and the peace of mankind, as the science and knowledge of the laws, especially the municipal laws of that commonwealth in which a man's lot is to live.

"It is not intended to raise a competition among professions; they are all profitable in their own kind; but this must be granted, that there are many already settled, not by far so necessary as this joint profession. Neither is it designed to detract any thing from the honour that is due to our own laws, when this profession is proposed to be jointly, as well of the civil as of the Scots law. For though, in the bulk, both our laws and forms are suitable enough to natural equity, (whatever may be said of

* Extracted from the College Records.

the feudal law, which is not so properly ours, and was founded, at least has been set up, upon a principle of servitude and vassalage, and might, in many cases, suffer a reformation), yet it is undeniable that our laws are far from being brought to such perfection, either in themselves, or as to the method of attaining the knowledge of them, as the laws of other nations are; so that in most, and these ordinary cases, we are forced to run for supply to the civil law, and the laws of other nations. And yet, after all, not only our best lawyers, but even our judges, find themselves still in the dark. Whereas, if some able lawyer were fixed in a joint profession of both, with a suitable salary, and some *honorarium* from students, he would make it his work to gather and methodise these scattered principles, that lie dispersed in a huge chaos of statutes, decisions, and customs, so that, in a short space, our law would be so far illuminated, that we might not only know what laws we have, but also see where they were defective; and, by a due search into the civil law, have the laws and customs of other nations; and the best laws and expedients might be culled out for improving and supplying our own; which, being once aimed at, would give occasion to others that have access to propose them to those in authority.

"And it is humbly conceived this design is necessary even to the most of our young *gownmen*. It need not be urged how indecent it is for men to be admitted to plead the rights of the lieges, without

any previous trial of their knowledge in our own law. And it is hoped that such a profession would take up the thoughts and time of a great many fine spirits, who are otherwise either lost or debauched for want of some serious study, suitable to their age and genius, and useful in common affairs.

"It must be regretted that our laws have been hitherto so unfixed and little known, even to the most of those entrusted with the government, that they have been someway necessitated either to be arbitrary, or else to leave many things without any decision at all: And it is no wonder if, in that case (considering the practice and weakness of men), private interest, favour, and court practices, have so often prevailed over justice and the public interest; and that judges, knowing no check of a positive law to clear the injustice of their decisions, have been laid open to many indirect methods in their proceedings, of which scarce any age or nation hath afforded more sad examples than this, in the two late reigns.

"It hath been both the honour and happiness of our neighbour nation, that, under the worst of governments, their judges, how current soever, have been obliged to stick closer to their laws, and so were less capable to oppress the people than in Scotland. The late king's observation is too true, that in England the laws guided the court, but in Scotland the court guided the laws. One reason of this difference, among others, is very obvious, that, by the long standing of the inns of court (which are the *professions* of

their laws, where most of the nobility and gentry have spent some part of their time), not only is their law cleared and fixed, but every man almost knows what their law is. So that a judge, if he resolve to be unjust, knows very well he must bear the weight of all that the knowing and enlightened genius of that nation can throw upon him. And this is also the cause that the house of commons hath still been such a bulwark to the people's liberties, that scarce any assembly in the world can parallel it. And I am ashamed to urge the vast disparity that in all this hath, and, without some remedy be used, must still appear among us. But of this perhaps enough, if not too much.

"The interest of the nation in this erection is very considerable, since it will keep much money amongst us, which is bestowed on the study of the civil law (simply) in the low countries, and elsewhere; whereas, by the method proposed, the study both of the civil and our own law may be had at home.

"It is also very much the interest of the town of Edinburgh. They have always, and with much reason, looked on their college as their great advantage. But it is demonstrable that this joint profession of law, *per se*, will in a short time equal, if not exceed, their advantage, from the whole other professions in it. There being few persons of spirit, that will not think some part of their time and pains well bestowed on that study.

"Two objections may be made against this proposal.

The first is, that people would turn too knowing in the law, and wrong those whose employment and practice lie that way. It is to be regretted, that ignorance should be counted the mother of devotion in any profession. And since it is exploded in divinity, it is hoped it will find no reception in this, which, next to that of divinity, most immediately concerns the good of human society. But to cure the fears of these *leguleii* (for, as to ingenious men in that profession, they will disown any such fear), it will rather be their advantage than their loss; since all the harm they can reap will only be, that people will be more able to inform lawyers, which will be both the client's and their benefit and credit. Every ingenious man that hath had any practice, will readily grant, that want of good information hath been the great occasion of the loss of many good causes, and the gaining of many bad.

"The other objection is of more weight, *viz.* that a profession of law cannot be well settled, till the law itself be first fixed. And the truth is, both these designs are excellent; and let them, in God's name, be both set about. Yet it must still be remembered, that some suitable salary be settled on those employed, otherwise all attempts in either will prove as fruitless as they have done these two hundred years bygone. Notwithstanding the many ordinances for revising and fixing our laws, as particularly those in 1649 and 1681, for, without some suitable encouragement, *quod multis committitur natu-*

raliter negligitur. But, to come closer to the objection, there cannot be a better method for illuminating our law, and discovering its defects, so as to get them supplied, and the whole compiled into an exact body, fit to be presented to and ratified in parliament, than this joint profession, well managed by some person of integrity, learning, and experience. And, on the other hand, if, without some such previous preparation, the matter be attempted, it cannot but prove a very *law* system, in respect of what it otherwise might be. It is not designed to propose where a fund, for this may be had. Yet it may be mentioned, that, in an act of sederunt 168 , the Lords allow the faculty of advocates to exact a considerable sum from every intrant, for a fund to and erection of this nature: And that the profession of philology in the college of Edinburgh is upon a fund designed for a profession of law. But if the Town of Edinburgh understand their own interest, they will settle a distinct fund of their own, which, if they be at pains, may be found out. And they have full power to settle professions of law, by a charter under the great seal, in April 1582."

It is uncertain who was the writer of this paper. It bears evident marks of being the composition of a lawyer; of one well acquainted with the subject, and anxious for promoting the study of the law of Scotland. The close alliance between the Roman or civil law and the Scotish law is well known; and the pains and labour bestowed on the study of the former,

by those who looked forward to practice at the Scotish bar, was then very great. The private examination of candidates, as well as the subject of the public *theses* which they had to defend, were selected from the Justinian code; and some of the most eminent civilians that the history of modern Europe records, were members of the faculty of advocates. The study of that interesting code of law was in Scotland chiefly confined to this society. Slender as the connexion may be between the civil and the canon law, yet an intimate acquaintance with the latter was also accounted indispensibly necessary to constitute a great Scotch lawyer. Indeed, there can be but one opinion respecting both the necessity and advantages of the study of law. The appointment of a professor of the municipal law of Scotland seems so obvious, that it is astonishing no institution of the kind had ever been established in Scotland. The Court of Session, the supreme civil court, was confessedly borrowed from the parliament of Paris. It is natural then to expect that its forms, rules of judging, and even the general principles of law acknowledged, should bear a considerable resemblance to that ancient court, which was its prototype. The influence of the civil law upon French jurisprudence is well known; and it had attained such authority, that, from the close connexion which subsisted between the two countries, no doubt can be entertained of the source from whence the predilection of Scotsmen to that code proceeded.

The administration of justice, both in the civil and criminal courts, was for a long time founded rather upon the civil law, and what is called *use and wont*, or common law, than upon the statute law of the country. The education of those who had devoted themselves to the study of the national jurisprudence, therefore, was conducted after a manner in many respects similar to the method pursued by the Roman youth in the best days of the republic. After they had gone through a regular course of study abroad, as the Romans did in Greece, they were placed under the tuition of some eminent practitioner. They attended upon his practice, both in his private consultations, and when he appeared in the public court. In short, he superintended their studies, and discharged the office which, in modern times, has been appropriated to a professor of law.

The greater number of our systems of law have been the productions of those whose business it was to teach it. Experience has shewed the truth of the observation, that the establishment of a professorship, such as the writer recommended, was better calculated to improve the national jurisprudence, than any other plan that could have been adopted.

Many new proposals were made about this time, designed to improve both the sciences taught, the methods of teaching, and the discipline of the college. All of which evidently demonstrate the unsettled opinions of the nation, and how ready they were to adopt every innovation. Physical and moral science

were then in a state of infancy. The new doctrines, however, had so far acquired an establishment among the young and the enterprising, that even the most prejudiced, if they had not already begun to hesitate concerning the certainty of the ancient system, were less confident in standing forward in its defence.

At the revolution, the government discovered the greatest anxiety that those who were admitted to professorships should be persons whose political principles could not be called in question, and who were at the same time men of acknowledged abilities. Upon the deprivation of Dr Strachan, both the church and state were fully aware of the necessity of providing a successor of this description in the divinity chair.* They had fixed their thoughts upon Dr George Campbell, minister at Dumfries, a man remarkable for his piety, prudence, and learning. He was very unwilling to accept of the office; and it required the interference of the general assembly before he would comply. At their express solicitation, however, he removed to Edinburgh during the course of this year, 1690; and, for a long period, discharged the important duties of his office with great reputation. He was the founder of the library which is attached to the divinity hall, and is

* It has been confidently affirmed, that it was offered to Dr Edmund Calamy, on the recommendation of Mr Carstares. These two eminent men had formed an intimacy during their residence in Holland.

entirely a separate establishment from that of the public library of the university.*

During the course of the succeeding year, some disagreeable riots took place in the college. They proceeded from no political cause, but from an absurd practice, which seems to have existed for a long time, of *boxing at the gate, and throwing the ball at the door of the Bajan class.* These vulgar practices were originally considered only as an amusement; but they had now become so serious, that the peace of the college, and even of the city, was materially interrupted. To correct such abuses, the students were required to subscribe a declaration of their abhorrence of such tumultuary and disorderly practices, and came under an obligation voluntarily to submit to expulsion, in the most solemn and disgraceful form and manner the masters should be pleased to think upon, if they did not conduct themselves properly. They also promised all due honour and reverence to the provost, magistrates, and others, patrons of the college; and all due respect and obedience to the reverend primar, and o-

* The following inscription is placed in the divinity hall:—

"Bibliotheca hæc virum pietate prudentia et literis insignem, D. G. Campbell, S. S. T. apud nos summa cum laude professorem, grato animo autorem agnoscit, ejus consiliis auspiciisque inchoata et singulari cura instructa; post hunc, plurimum debet viris reverendis V. D. præconibus Magistro Ricardo Straitton, Londinensi, et Magistro Thomæ Wilkie, ecclesiæ in vico canonicorum nuper pastori, quorum ille 700 codicibus eam augendam curavit, hic 400 volumina testamento legavit, 1719.

ther masters and professors, and that under the former penalty, in case they failed. The paper, of which this is the substance, was communicated to the Lord Provost on the morning of the 9th October; but though the signatures seemed to have been given with great readiness, we shall find that they did not produce the desired effect. The tumult had become so great, that the class-rooms and part of the buildings were considerably injured; and it was found necessary to impose an assessment upon all the students who could not prove an *alibi*, in order that the damage which the college had sustained might be repaired.

In 1692, the universities of Scotland were actuated with great zeal for the promotion of learning, and the improvement of their methods of teaching. Every thing was conducted with the greatest harmony, excepting that three of the professors in King's College, Aberdeen, who were hostile to the government, and, consequently, opposed the measures of the majority, protested against sending commissioners to the meeting which was to be held in September. The reasons which they presented were written with acrimony; and discover a petulance of humour which was severely chastised by the meeting.

The long agitated question, respecting uniformity as to the plan of teaching, was again introduced; but nothing definitive determined on. Besides this subject, which had been so often canvassed, they

took under consideration the great benefit which would accompany the restoration of the offices of chancellor, rector, and others, which, from the political commotions of the times, had been permitted to go into disuse. The other universities of Scotland have, from their foundation, been much more attentive that such office-bearers should be members of their society than Edinburgh. The Lord Provost, or at least the town-council, have been esteemed as holding the chancellorship, and competent to exercise all its functions. Frequent interruptions had taken place in regard to the appointment of a rector. The subject, it is evident, had been resumed by the commissioners of the university as a body; and the method which they suggested was, "to supplicate the Lords of their Majesties privy council to interpose their authority in filling up such offices as are now vacant; and that they would allow, in the meantime, till that be effectuated, the present heads of the colleges to supply these vacant offices where it is needful."*

In consequence of this representation, various conferences were held between the honourable patrons and the principal and professors of the university of Edinburgh. And, from the following rough draught of a memorial, presented with all deference and respect to the town-council, it is obvious that the business had for some time proceeded in a manner

* College Records.

agreeable to both parties. The *Senatus Academicus* begin by remarking, that, "in the reports from the committee of their conference with the honourable patrons, they observe, with the greatest pleasure, not only a favourable disposition in the patrons to promote the interest of the university, but even a desire to find out the means that would best accomplish it, by settling some new and more beneficial regulation, and by putting even the whole constitution upon a better foundation than that whereon it seems to stand. The memorialists, therefore, would be wanting to their duty in a remarkable manner upon their part, if they did not readily and cheerfully concur with such good intentions in their patrons, in joining their endeavours to find and point out a way to a better establishment; and, indeed, they would be very cold and indifferent towards the prosperity of the university, if they did not likewise, upon this occasion, express themselves in the warmest manner, to shew the grateful sense they have of the intended favour; and what an agreeable prospect it affords them, on many accounts, to see the honourable patrons have the interest of that body so much at heart, of which they are members.

"In obedience to the commands of the honourable patrons, at the said conference, the memorialists have, with some attention, considered the rise and establishment of the university; and they find, from authentic documents, that she has been in the exercise of these powers, and, for some considerable time, govern-

ed in that manner, wherein consists the distinguishing character of an university from the lesser seminaries of learning. She continues in the possession of giving degrees in all the learned sciences; but her government by a rector has now, for some considerable time, gone into disuse. To what causes the sinking the useful office of rector is most likely to have been owing, they are unwilling to explore, lest the scrutiny should lead them into the view of some unhappy differences, whereof, in their humble opinion, the memory should not be recalled. It is plain, however, the university in former times was more in the exercise of certain rights and priviledges, and, in certain respects, carried more the outward face of an university, than she has done for some time past."*

For what reason a rector was not appointed, we have not been informed. It was quite natural for the members of the university to discover great anxiety that their establishment should resemble as much as possible the other European seminaries, in the office-bearers that were attached to the institution. Whether it would have contributed more to its prosperity, it is impossible to affirm. The efficiency of any office depends almost entirely upon him who holds it. If discipline be exercised after a judicious, mild, but firm manner, it is of little consequence by what name the president of the court is

* College Records.

called; though it must be confessed, that when little attention is paid to form or external ceremony, too great familiarity is apt to be introduced, and the purposes of material justice consequently injured. The presence of a rector to witness their proceedings, and to accompany them with his sanction, could scarcely be conceived to produce any bad effects whatever. But from what may be termed the democratic constitution of the university of Edinburgh, the formality of a numerous list of office-bearers, such as exist in most other universities, is perhaps incompatible with its spirit. In all the other Scotish colleges, for example, the founders have not only given a most minute detail of what they prescribed should be taught, the names and duty of the teachers, but have enumerated with the most scrupulous care the name and functions of every officer connected with the corporation, from the chancellor to the most menial servant. In the charter of the university of Edinburgh, on the contrary, nothing of this kind is to be discerned; and this, no doubt, has operated as a powerful cause in rendering its constitution less formal and perplexed.

The encouragement which had been received from the honourable patrons, communicated new spirit to the principal and professors. In imitation, therefore, of the English and foreign universities, it was proposed that an *Orator Academicus* should be nominated yearly. The nature of his office is well known. As the rector is in most cases a layman, and there-

fore not presumed to have made public speaking his study, the orator, who is always selected from the faculty of theology, acts as his deputy on extraordinary occasions, when any formal speech is to be delivered. Neither the one nor the other, however, was instituted at this time.

The universities, being now in great favour with the leading men in Scotland, ventured to propose what they would have never otherwise attempted. Justly elated with the protection extended to them under William and Mary, they appear to have been much disposed to record their own history, and, in the present favourable circumstances, to secure the certainty of that establishment, which they conceived depended upon their loyalty to their majesties. To attain this end, which was then considered to be of the greatest importance, it was ordered, "that the records of every college be diligently searched into, for publishing a fuller and exacter *notitia* of the universities than is yet extant."* In the same minute, it is proposed, that the design of monthly exercises be revived and prosecuted.

Whether it proceeded from the general causes which have been above specified, as they regarded all the universities, or from some very favourable circumstances which cannot now be explained, it is certain that the college of Edinburgh determined upon presenting the following memorial.

* College Records.

" I. That we humbly desire of the magistrates a transcript of all the papers relating to the college, as the foundation thereof, the particular mortifications, &c. all which were formerly deposited in the *Bibliothec*, and were only transported thence in Sir Andrew Ramsay's time.

" II. To desire a signature from his Majesty, renewing and confirming all the grants of his royal predecessors to the said college, with a *novodamus* of all things requisite for the good of the society.

" III. To petition his majesty for a part of the bishops revenues to these following purposes.

" 1*st*, For settling new professions, yet wanting, as of law and physic, which would be very useful and beneficial to the nation.

" 2*d*, To be a yearly fund for enriching the library with all new books that shall be published, and such old ones as are wanting, and for furnishing it with mathematical instruments.

" 3*d*, For augmenting of the regents salaries, they having only at present 400 merks a-piece, especially an entire mortification of Mr William Tweedie's, which they formerly enjoyed, being lost through mismanagement.

" 4*th*, For completing of the college steeple, which stands unfinished.

" 5*th*, For building of lodgings to the masters.

" 6*th*, For buying in of ground very conveniently adjacent for that effect last mentioned, as also for being gardens and orchards, &c.

"*7th*, For building more chambers to accommodate the students, and for other pious uses."*

Had the university obtained what they desired, it would no doubt have thrown great light upon our national literary history, and enabled them to have given more satisfactory illustrations of the nature of their own foundation; but a compliance of this kind was not to be expected.

No distinct account has been transmitted to us respecting the tumults and disorders which took place about this time throughout all the colleges in Scotland. Appearances of riot could not be concealed from the observation of the public for some time past; but, in December 1693, they had advanced to such a height, that the lords of the privy council found it necessary to publish an act, discharging all such irregularities, and annexing certain fines to be levied upon the guilty. An invidious distinction was made between noblemen, barons, and burgesses, and their sons. The principals and regents were to be assisted by the magistrates; and, if it were found necessary, they had power to imprison the guilty, and rigidly to exact the fines imposed. The sums collected were to be applied for the use of the libraries of the said colleges. This act was to be published at the market-crosses of Edinburgh, New and Old Aberdeen, St Andrews, and Glasgow; and also to be read before the students, and affixed on the doors of the public schools.

* College Records.

This vigorous measure was accompanied with salutary effects; and, in 1695, those who were in power, and were well-wishers to the cause of literature, had more leisure to bestow in employing means for accomplishing that purpose. Accordingly, a committee was appointed for preparing acts and overtures concerning universities and schools; and their report was presented to the privy council so early as the 28th of January; and various recommendations which they suggested were warmly approved of. The first object of their attention appears to have been an attempt to found a Greek professorship; but the same cause which prevented this formerly, had a similar effect now. They were at a loss to fix upon a fund sufficient to defray the necessary additional expence. Besides the sciences which had been usually taught in the third class, it was ordained that there should be superadded the practice of oratory or declamation. It hath been already mentioned, that the injunctions respecting the examination of candidates for professorships were exceedingly strict. It was now resolved, however, that as it was very becoming that the most perfect understanding should subsist between the universities, that this should be dispensed with, when a master or regent was to be transported from one college to another.

An order was also issued to transmit an account to the clerk of the commission of their several foundations and mortifications, and what salaries the masters

and professors are allowed, and how the rent and revenues are managed. Although this act was equally binding upon Edinburgh with the sister universities, yet it was far less implicated in the consequences it might produce than any of the rest. This arose from the nature of its funds.

The discipline of the college next engaged their attention. The hebdomadar was commanded to reside all night within the college during the time of his office, and visit the students in their chambers before six A. M. and every evening before nine o'clock P. M. It was expressly enjoined, that all the students in the several universities and colleges within the kingdom should be obliged to wear constantly gowns during the time of the sitting of the colleges; and that the regents or masters be obliged to wear black gowns, and the students red gowns, that thereby *vaging* and vice may be discouraged. And in regard the wearing of gowns has never been the custom in Edinburgh college, the commission do therefore recommend to the masters of that college to endeavour to bring the custom into practice.

Strict orders were also given that the students should submit to a public examination in presence of the masters, and be found sufficiently qualified by the faculty of the college, before receiving the degree of master of arts.

The age required before any one could undertake the care of students was fixed at twenty-one years complete. It was appointed that the courses of all

the colleges should commence upon the first lawful day of November, and continue to the last day of June thereafter. The magistrand classes were only to continue till the first of May. If any classes were wont to meet earlier in the season than November, they were allowed to do so if they chose; but they were not to commence their regular course till the first of that month. It was also enacted, that the several classes, when they first convene, be all publicly examined in the common hall, in presence of the principal and all the regents of the college, who shall be obliged to attend the said examinations. A similar examination was appointed to take place at the end of the session; and if any absented themselves without licence, they were not to be promoted to a higher class in the subsequent year. The proficiency of the bursars was to be specially inquired into, as well as the regularity of their attendance; and, when they returned to their studies, they were required to produce a testimonial of their good behaviour from the presbytery, minister, or kirk-session, of the parish in which they resided.

Being convinced of the very imperfect nature of the mathematical courses in general given, the regents of the several classes were appointed to teach the students some rudiments of the mathematics along with their ordinary course.

The numerous recommendations which had been given respecting the composition of and printing a course of philosophy, had never been seriously at-

tended to. To stimulate the professors to enter with earnestness upon this task, the commission declared, that they would write to the secretary of state to interpose with his majesty, that he would be pleased to give a gratification of fifty pounds sterling to each college at the completing of the said work. A committee was appointed to revise, and, if necessary, to amend the different schemes, which were to be given in upon the first Wednesday of October following. It was composed of Patrick Lord Polwart, David Home of Crocerig, and Sir William Hamilton of Whitelaw, both senators of the college of justice, the Reverend Messrs John Law, George Campbell, Gilbert Rule, George Meldrum, David Blair, and Mr James Smollet, one of the commissaries of Edinburgh.

In 1696, the commission of parliament had issued a variety of particular and very minute regulations respecting the composition of this course of philosophy, lest any hindrance to its completion should yet occur. And to place this, if possible, beyond hazard, the delegates from the several universities were called before the commission at Edinburgh, on the 15th day of July of the same year. They were interrogated whether they had gone through their several parts; which was answered in the affirmative, and that they had amended what was incorrect; that they had met together, and considered the form of writing the whole parts, which they now produced, and delivered to the committee.

It must not be imagined however, that, by what is here called *parts*, they meant to affirm that the different treatises which they were required to compose were now finished. What was given in was only an abridgment or syllabus, containing the arrangement which they proposed to adopt. These seem to have been approved of by the commission; yet the language in which their opinions are expressed, discovers such caution, and so great zeal to enter into the most minute detail of the manner in which the whole business should be conducted, that a fastidious critic would be apt to infer that they entertained some doubts of their being equal to the task assigned to them. But this was not the case. The origin, foundation, and establishment of English and foreign popish universities (which, in the former part of this work, has been briefly explained), rendered them entirely independent of the state. Any regulations, therefore, respecting their discipline, their peculiar modes and seasons for teaching, or the sciences taught, depended upon the judgement or inclination which the university, as a distinct and incorporated body, might determine. They have uniformly resisted any foreign interference. They claimed the right of being the only judges of such matters. The protestant seminaries abroad, in Holland, Switzerland, and in France, were subjected to the jurisdiction of the civil power, in many respects similar to that of Scotland. In the case of the two former, the magistrates claimed the same superiority over

the universities, within the extent of their civil powers, as the town-council do over the college of Edinburgh. But neither of the parties, as far as I know, have ever presumed to decide what course of philosophy should be taught. In France, the king's commissioner, though he did not preside, was always present at the meetings of the national councils of the reformed churches in France. Like the commissioner to the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, he was not entitled to take any part in their discussions, further than that he could dissolve the synod, and take care that no resolution injurious to the interest of the state should be permitted to pass. There can be no doubt, that the first idea of a representative of majesty being introduced into the general assembly was first derived from that source. But the Scotish parliament had a legal right, and actually did exercise a much greater power of inquiring into every thing connected with the literary national bodies, than had been ever asserted by any European government.

There is another circumstance, which cannot fail to strike every person, that party spirit was then so violent, that it insinuated itself into the discussion of every subject, whether political, religious, or philosophical. The philosophy taught in the universities at that time could hardly be conceived, by the most distant association, to encroach upon the politics of the times. And of this the parliament was doubtless aware. But a great number of the masters and

regents were known to be disaffected; and as their influence upon the students was admitted to be great, they wished to have as tight a check upon them as possible. For this purpose, the committee to whom the business was more particularly referred, were entirely composed of Whigs, with Lord Polwarth, the son of the chancellor, at their head. The other members, especially the clergy, had taken a very decided part, to which, indeed, they chiefly owed their preferments. It was not to be expected, then, that a system which was to be the joint work of so many individuals, whose acquirements, habits of thinking, and of expression, whose prejudices, both religious and political, were so discordant, could ever unite heartily in drawing up a system of philosophy. They could not resist, however, the authority which commanded them to proceed in the work, with whatever reluctance they engaged in it. The professors could hardly fail, as teachers of philosophy, and whose business partly consisted in examining the productions of their pupils, being disgusted with the minute instructions they received, respecting even the form in which their treatises were to be composed. "The commission of parliament appoints those who write the several parts of philosophy, that they do the same, exactly and distinctly, in heads and paragraphs; and that the rules, definitions, divisions, questions and answers, explanations and arguments, be clearly and distinctly handled, for the instruct-

ing and education of youth."* Such finical directions were rather suited to benefit a novice, or very young students, than to be addressed to masters in philosophy. Their works were first to be submitted to the review of the faculty of the college to which they belonged; and, after being revised, were to be sent to all the other colleges for inspection; and they were to commit to writing whatever animadversions might occur.

In the course of the subsequent year, a frequent correspondence was carried on between the universities, in compliance with this order. The treatises themselves are either mislaid, or have been destroyed; but the criticisms upon them, together with their defences, are still preserved. Upon the slightest perusal of them, the first thing which naturally strikes us is the great difference of opinion which prevailed among the colleges, and the consequent impracticability of uniting so heterogeneous a mass, or getting them to co-operate in such a cause. The commission seem to have been perfectly sensible of the difficulty of procuring unanimity. They did not relax, however, their activity in attempting to accomplish it. In the beginning of October, a very short time before the session of the college commenced, a circular letter was sent to each principal, accompanied with the particular treatise which his university had drawn up, by order of parliament.

* College Records.

The chancellor, Lord Marchmont, by whom the letter was signed, gave directions "to employ as many writers of good hands as would transcribe seven doubles of the said course, so amended; and to keep one of the said doubles, and transmit the remaining six to the clerk to the commission, betwixt and the twentieth of November next, to be dispersed by the commission through the other universities and colleges, to be dictate and taught by the masters thereof to the students for this ensuing year. And the committee do promise to recommend and seriously deal with the lords of his majesty's treasury, that the writers of the said doubles be presently paid for their pains; and also to renew their recommendation in favour of the compilers, that they may be paid how soon the work shall be finished; and they expect that due and exact obedience shall be given to this their order; and also, what further observations may occur in teaching the said uniform course of philosophy for this ensuing year shall be made."*

We have already taken notice of the custom of throwing of a foot-ball into the Bajan class, upon the tenth of March yearly, having been the occasion of much disorder and confusion in the college. The students of the *semy* class were, upon the third of March, most earnestly entreated by their regent to give public testimony of their willingness to have this custom for ever banished the college; with

* College Records.

which they most heartily complied. This circumstance is of itself of so little importance, that it is hardly worthy of being mentioned. But as the records of the university have been very imperfectly preserved, and, consequently, the number of students that attended the college being unknown, it may lead us to form a probable conjecture upon that subject (and, besides, it is the only evidence we possess), when we state, that one hundred and twenty-one students of the semy class subscribed this declaration. If the other classes of the university, which were three in number, independent of the theological class, bore any proportion to the semy class, the total number of students at the university may at this time be fairly estimated to have been above five hundred.

The only university that paid strict attention to the orders of the commission was St Andrews. Whether the other colleges had only been dilatory or refractory, is not known; but, upon the third of January 1698, copies of the logics and metaphysics produced by the university of St Andrews were appointed to be transmitted to each of the other colleges, and the same ordained to be dictated and taught this year to the students. Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, were commanded to finish their parts of the course with all expedition; and that each college should teach the system of philosophy composed by themselves; and to return to the clerk of the commission the observations made by

the several colleges, and by the delegates who met at Edinburgh in mid-summer last. The university of Edinburgh had, by some means or another, given great offence, in so much that, upon the thirty-first of the month, the following order was issued by the Lords, and others of the commission.

"It is ordered, that intimation be made to the principal and professors of the college of Edinburgh, that they produce before the commission, against Monday next, the *Pneumatologia*, or special metaphysics, composed by them, corrected and amended, as was formerly appointed; and that they have seven doubles thereof complete in readiness to be produced against Monday next, being the seventh day of February next to come, in order to be transmitted to the several universities and colleges; with certification, if they fail herein, that the Lords and others of the commission will proceed against them as contemners of their authority, and deprive those that are guilty, of their offices in the said college."*

On the same day, they recommended it to the magistrates of Edinburgh, patrons, and to the college treasurer, to advance money to defray the expence of writing the copies.

Notwithstanding the peremptory language here employed, some obstacle, which is not specified, still prevented this work, which had been so long in agitation, from being brought to a conclusion. The

* College Records.

commission seem to have been puzzled themselves, and to have hesitated what line of conduct they ought pursue; for, on the 12th of December, it was c ed that, for the ensuing year, the masters should ch the same courses of philosophy which they w e enjoined to have taught last year. They were desired to abridge such as were prolix, and to return the *first* copies as they were previous to their being amended.

It is a common observation, that there is no pride equal to the pride of learning. In a society, therefore, composed of those whose business it was to teach philosophy, and which consisted of about forty members, it need not excite astonishment that dissension occurred; and that, as they proceeded in the work, this difference of opinion, which at first might appear of little importance even to themselves, should assume, as they advanced, a much more serious aspect. Such are the passions of men, that whatever becomes the subject of controversy, whether in philosophy or religion, has a natural tendency to produce this. There can be little doubt that, as the committee of parliament possessed a controul over the universities, and were empowered to abridge or correct, according to their own discretion, whatever they judged proper, that the breach which had been begun was not likely to be lessened. The leaders among them had been educated abroad; and, from following the profession of the law, and being much engaged in public business, it is probable that

they had not time to examine with great nicety the metaphysical subtleties of the schoolmen.

Upon the 27th of November 1699, another regulation was adopted. Finding that all former references were unavailing, and themselves apparently despairing of success, they referred the consideration of the matter to the principals of the universities alone; and gave them a discretionary power "to go through the whole system of philosophy, to compendize it, and make their remarks thereon, as they shall think fit; and to present their remarks to the commission, against their first meeting in June next; with certification, if they fail, the commission will censure them for their contempt and neglect."* They had a second meeting in the course of the same day; and, in their minute, which is still in existence, they enumerate sixteen separate propositions, which they find to be erroneous, and discharge them to be taught, because they are *contra fidem et bonos mores.*

This was the last interference that they took in so disagreeable a business. Harassed no doubt with the opposition they had encountered, and the likelihood of being subjected to further trouble, they seem to have retired with disgust from the contest; and came to the resolution of doing what they ought to have done at first, to grant the liberty to every professor to teach philosophy in his own way.

It must be confessed, that the opinions which

* College Records.

they call pernicious and dangerous, were directly contrary to the theological tenets established by law. They were principally derived from the school of Epicurus, whose doctrines it had become fashionable at this time to defend, in consequence of the popularity of the writings of *Gassendi*. The language in which the charges are made evidently shews that they were sufficiently disposed to find fault; for however unphilosophical the greater number of the propositions actually were, yet there can be no doubt, that no professor, in the exercise of his reason, would, even in the present day, dare to defend sentiments which legitimately led to atheism. The truth is, that, in ancient as well as in modern times, such accusations have generally been founded upon inferences or deductions, which those who held them principle, denied to be logical. Epicurus is uniformly represented to have been a virtuous and moral man; and atheism is ascribed to him only on the testimony of his opponents. We know that Gassendi, the most eminent philosopher of modern times who has attempted to revive some of his theories, would have spurned at such an imputation. Both seem to have been possessed of an easy temper; and to have been sensible of difficulties accompanying the philosophical systems of every other sect as well as the Epicurean. The latter, in particular, was in a certain degree indifferent to all sects, whether ancient or modern; for, in his dispute with Des Cartes, if I mistake not, he

says, that he prefers the system of Epicurus, because it was two thousand years older than the other.

The commission, in their act, do not specify the name of any professor or student, or even any particular university, that they accused of holding such heretical opinions; and, from the vague manner in which they express themselves, one would be ready to suppose that the whole arose from common report.

The public, about this time, entered with considerable eagerness into a discussion of the transactions between the commission and the universities. Several anonymous pamphlets were expressly written on the subject, in which the nature and constitution of a commissioner of parliament for the visitation of seminaries of learning is freely canvassed. "When visiting these nurseries," says one of the advocates for the universities, "if is only executive, it may do much good, but no harm: whereas, if it be legislative, an act thereanent (though well meant), may sap the foundations of the monarchy, state, and church." From the whole tenor of the argument of this author, it is very plain that a certain class of the community were of opinion that those who were nominated by the king had exceeded their powers. The perplexed nature of the business, together with the calamitous state of the nation, which was universally felt, in consequence of the final ruin of the settlement at Darien, involved the parliament in the

consideration of much more urgent affairs at this time; and, fortunately for the progress of literature and of science, withdrew their attention from the universities, and dissolved an odious inquisition, which it is to be hoped will never be revived.

I was unwilling to interrupt the course of the narrative, otherwise, the following extract from a manuscript life of Sir Robert Sibbald, in the Advocate's Library, would have been introduced before, as it contains some very interesting particulars respecting the university, to be found nowhere else. It was written by himself.

"At first I made it my business, by my acquaintance with some of the apothecaries and chirurgeons, to inform myself of the method of practice in use amongst the physitians here, and gott the coppie of the courses of physick they appointed in most diseases, and of the receipts most in use amongst them. When there was occasion for it, I caused consult them, and carried with a great deal of deference and respect to them. Some four years after I settled here (1666), Doctor Andrew Balfour came home, and about a year thereafter came to Edinburgh. I was acquainted with him in France, and we were allyed. He was a man of an excellent witt, and who had improved himself by his travels for 14 years. He had severall tymes travelled over France; and had been a year in Italy, and seen all the rarities there, and conversed with the most eminent for learning. He had attained much knowledge of the

naturall history, and provided himself well with books of that nature. I came, by conversation with him, to know the best writers on that subject. I had, from my settlement here, a designe to inform myself of the subjects of the naturall history this country could afoord: For I had learned at Paris that the simplest method of physick was the best; and those that the country afoorded came neerest to our temper, and agreed best with us.

"I had become acquaint with Patrick Murray, laird of Levingstone, by means of Mr John Elies, my comerade, who married his sister, and had information of him what plants might be gotten in the fields; and I frequently went to Leviston, where he had collected, of plants that grew in the country, and foreigne ones, near to a thousand. I made Dr Balfour his acquaintance with Leviston; which, upon Leviston's going abroad, and corresponding with the Doctor, gave the rise to the designe of establishing the medicine garden in Edinburgh. Dr Balfour and I first resolved upon it; and obtained of John Brown, gardener of the north yards in the Abbey, ane inclusure of some forty feet every way. We had, by this tyme, become acquaint with Mr James Sutherland, a youth who, by his own industry, had attained great knowledge of the plants and of medals; and he undertook the charge of the culture of it. By what we procured from Levistone and other gardens, and brought in from the country, we made a collection of eight or nine hundred plants there. We got

several of the physitians in town to concur in the designe, and to contribute so much a-year for the charge of the culture and importation of foreigne plants. Some of the chirurgeon apothecaryes, who then had much power in the towne, opposed us, dreading that it might usher in a coledge of physitians; but, by the care and dexterity of Dr Balfour, these were made friends to the designe, and assisted us in obtaining of the Counsell of Edinburgh, and lease to Mr James Sutherland, for nynteen years, of the garden belonging to Trinity Hospital, and adjacent to it. And Dr Balfour and I, with some others, were appointed by the Towne Counsell visitors of the garden. After this, we applied ourselves, with much care to embellish the fabrick of the garden, and import plants from all places into this garden, and procured that severall of the nobility concurred in contributing for some years. For the encouragement of Mr Sutherland, some gifts likewise were obtained of money from the Exchequer, and the Lords of Session and Faculty of Advocates, for that use; and, by Dr Balfour's procurement, considerable pacquets of seeds and plants were yeerly sent hither from abroad; and the students of medicine got directions to send them from all places they travelled, when they might be had; by which means, the garden increased considerably every yeer.

"It was by the encouragement of the Earl of Perth, that, to the enquiry after the natural products of the kingdom, I added the enquiry after what con-

cerned an exact geographical description of it; and, by his procurement, upon his informing King Charles the II. what progress I had made in these matters, his Majesty gave me a patent to be his geographer for the kingdome of Scotland, and another to be his physitian there, and withall gave me his commands to publish the naturall history of the country, and the geographical description of the kingdome. This was the cause of great paines and very much expence to me, in buying all these books and manuscripts I could get for that use, and procuring informations from all parts of the country, even the most remote isles. I employed John Adair for surveying, and did bestow much upon him, and payed a guinie for each double of the maps he made. He gott much money from the gentry, and an allowance from the publick for it; but notwithstanding the matter was recommended by a committee of the counsell, and my paines and progresse in the work represented, yett I obtained nothing except a patent for one hundred pounds sterling of salary from King James the Seventh as his physitian. I gott only one year's payment; however, the work goeth one, and is brought a great length as to my part of the work.

"In the year 1680, I induced some of the physitians in town, especially Dr Burnett, Dr Steenson, Dr Balfour, and Dr Pitcairn, to meet at my lodgings once a fortnight or so, where we had conferences. The matters we discoursed upon was letters from these abroad, giving account of what was most re-

markable adoing by the learned; some rare cases had happened in our practice; and an account of books that tended to the improvement of medicine, naturall history, or any other curious learning; and were continued till the erection of the colledge of physitians. Several of the discourses are inserted in a book I call *Acta Medica Edinburgensia*; they were forborne then, upon the introducing of such conferences once a month in the colledge.

"Sometyme before this, Mr Cuningham, a chirurgeon, had been refused his admission among the chirurgeon apothecaries, and ill used by them. He had engaged the apothecaries in town upon his side; and had raised an action before the court of session, anent the right of these employments; and the lords had requyred the opinions of Dr Hay, Dr Burnett, Dr Steenson, and Dr Balfour, about the chirurgeon apothecaries, whether there were any such conjunction of these employments in other countrys, and whether or not it was expedient for the lieges they should be joined in one person here. They were pleased to take the opinion of the rest of the physitians in town anent these matters; and, accordingly, they met altogether at Dr Hay his lodging. After they had agreed to the report, that there was no such conjunction of these arts elsewhere, and that it was very prejudicial both to the lieges and to the physitians, I took occasion to represent to them, that this being the first time we had all met, I thought it was our interest to improve the meeting to some

furder use; and I downwright proposed we might take to consideration the establishment of a colledge to secure our priviledges belonged to us as doctors, and defend us against the encroachments of the chirurgeons and apothecaries, which were insupportable. This gave the first ryse to our meeting thereabout; and his Royal Highness the Duke York comming to see Scotland shortly after, and Sir Charles Scarborough, his majesties first physitian, following him soon after that, we consulted with Sir Charles, and found him our great friend, and very ready to give us his best assistance with the king and the duke, who was by this time high commissioner. There was great opposition made to the design by the town of Edinburgh, who concurred with the chirurgeon apothecaries, and by the universities, with whom the archbishops and bishops, and some of the nobility, joined. I gott the Earl of Perth and his brother Melfort to be our great friends; and they brought in many of the nobility to favour our design. And I having recovered ane warrand of King James the Sixt, of happy memory, directed to the commissioner and estaits of parliament, then sitting in Scotland, dated the 3d of July 1621, with ane reference by the parliament thereanent to the lords of secret counsell, with power to doe therein what they thought fit, and that their determination therein sould have the force of an act of parliament, dated the 2d of August 1621,—produced this to his Royall Highness, who, so soon as he saw it superscribed by King James,

said, with much satisfaction, he knew his grandfather's hand, and he would see our businesse done; and from that moment acted vigourously for us. So that it was resolved there sould be ane colledge of physitians; butt it took a long tyme of dispute before the counsell, in answering the objections of the chirurgeons and of the town of Edinburgh against it. We soon did agree with the university and bishops; and there were some conditions insert in the patent in their favours; and they became strong solicitous for us; so that, after long debates, the matter was concerted, and the draught of the patent agreed to by the counsell was sent up; and very soon thereafter, by his Royall Highness his procurement, returned signed by the king. The very next day I turned it into Latin; and the day thereafter gave it into the chancery-chamber, and waited upon it till it was written in parchment, and ready for the great seall, which was appended to it upon the 29th November 1681, being St Andrew's day. It coast a great deal of money to defray the charges of the plea, and for getting it signed at court, and sealed here. We paid considerably each of us, except Dr Hay, who would not contribute one farthing, though his name be the first insert in the patent. Dr Brisban paid nothing either; and so they were declared by the colledge honorarie members. Dr Steenson and Dr Balfour and I were at double expence, in regard that we solicit the matter, and mett with the lawers and clerks, and frequently treated them. The

patron is very honourable for our society, and contains a jurisdiction within ourselves, which the public judicatures are obliged to see executed. I [illegible] to [illegible] was made geographer for the kingdome of Scotland, and commanded to publish the natural history and the geographick description thereof, the 30th September 1682, was appointed by my patent. I was made, by the Towne of Edinburgh, professor of medicine in the colledge of Edinburgh, upon the fifth day of March 1685, as the extract of the act under the clerk's hand beareth. I was installed and admitted by the Magistrats to the exercise of the charge the 25th of March 1685, as appeareth by the extract from the clerk. I was made president of the colledge of physitians at Edinburgh upon the fourth day of December 1684, the day of election that year, and continued till the next election, as appears from the colledge minute-book. When I was president, the *Dispensatorie* or *Pharmacopœia* for this place was completed. I caused transcribe two copies of it, one for the colledge, in folio (which was delivered by me to Dr Balfour, at his election to be præses), and another, in quarto, for myself, which I paid for out of my own money. I got the Chancellor's license to it, and did agree with David Lindsay for printing it, upon the said David his charge; and he obliged himself to deliver [illegible] copies of each of the impressions, both in folio and 12mo, for the use of the colledge; whereto the colledge did agree, as appears by their minute-book; and yett a faction obstructed

them. The patent was ratified in parliament, and I took instruments upon it; and I saw all the colledge debts paid; and the thesaurer, Dr Spence, at my going off, had in his hands, over and above these payments made, ane hundred and twenty-nine pounds and twelf shillings Scots, and six hundred merks bonds, as appears from the minute-books of the colledge. The conferences were kept up likewise during my time, and the discourses were made."

Literature and science in general, and the university of Edinburgh in particular, are much indebted to Sir Robert Sibbald. He was a native of the city, received his education at its seminaries, and ever retained a warm attachment to his *Alma Mater*. He was a man of pure intentions, of amiable dispositions, and a generous temper. The presbyterians unjustly accused him of great doubts as to revealed religion; but his greatest enemies allow that he was exemplary in his conduct, and distinguished for what they called his philosophical virtue. The truth is, that he had been educated in episcopalian principles; and associated through life with those whose conduct was in open hostility to the covenant and its vindicators. From the above quotation, it is plain that Lord Perth had patronized him, and shewn him distinguished marks of attention; for it was by his Lordship's encouragement that the doctor proposed to compile a geographical and statistical account of Scotland, together with a description of its natural

history. In 1696, Dr Pitcairn published an anonymous review of Sibbald's "*Prodromus Historiæ Naturalis Scotiæ*," in which his credulity, ignorance, and plagiarism, &c. are exposed with a very unsparing hand. Sibbald had condemned the medical system of *Bellini*, Pitcairn's great master; and this was the cause of no mercy being shewn to his *Prodromus*. He laughs at him for giving credit to the report, that there were in Scotland "wild oxen with manes," and "badgers like swine," "beavers," &c. Quotations are given, from which his ignorance of natural history, botany, zoology, and geography, are proved, as well as his plagiarism from Ray, Sutherland, and others. It must be confessed that the criticism is most unreasonably severe. We learn some of Sibbald's history from this treatise. He studied eighteen months at Leyden, and one year at Angiers, in France, where he graduated; and that, previous to his composing his *Prodromus*, he dispersed a set of queries throughout the country, to which he requested answers.*

The "*History of Fife*" was published by himself; but the collections which he had made for this work are still in the possession of the Faculty of Advocates, in manuscript, and discover the most persevering industry. Though he acknowledges himself that he had brought the work a great length as to his part of it, yet the little assistance afforded to him, and

* *Vid.* Dissertatio de Legibus Historiæ Naturalis.

the unsettled state of the government, prevented him from accomplishing his design. Sir Robert Sibbald deserves great credit for projecting such a work. A statistical account of Scotland, as it then was, from such an antiquarian and philosopher, would at the present time be invaluable.

The study of natural history was in his time in its infancy. Any knowledge possessed by philosophers was commonly acquired in France, where Sir Robert had studied. In Scotland, the very name of the science was unknown. Dr Morison had been educated in the same school; who, upon his return to his native country, seems first to have pointed out the great benefit to be derived from the perusal of the works of Gerard, Parkinson, and Ray; which, together with his own publications, contained almost all the information that could be derived from books in the English language.* No one

* Dr Robert Morison was a native of Aberdeenshire, and was educated at Marischall College.—Thom's Hist. of Aberdeen, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 92. Antony a Wood gives the following account of Dr Morison, in his History of the University of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 45. "Upon the 16th December 1669, we chose Robert Morison, M. D. of the university of Angiers in France, and of University College with us, as the first lecturer, and overseer of the botanic garden. In the course of the subsequent year, he was admitted to the same degree in our university; one who was particularly well skilled in the knowledge of plants. He first gave a specimen of his knowledge on 2d September 1670, in the school of medicine. On the fifth day of that month he repaired to the botanic garden. For five weeks, he gave three lectures each week, and produced specimens of the plants,

seems to have thought of the great advantages which would accompany a public establishment for the prosecution of this science, until Dr Sibbald proposed it. Some of his medical friends, however, shewed every inclination to assist him. He was fortunate in becoming acquainted with Mr James Sutherland, whose origin and history are little known. From incidental hints in the dedication and preface to the "*Hortus Medicus Edinburgensis*," published in 1683, it appears that Sutherland had followed the honourable profession of a gardener. Sir Robert's testimony in regard to him is of no ordinary value; and proves that Mr Sutherland was possessed of very uncommon talents: And, had his genius for the minute observation of the works of nature, and his desire for knowledge, received that generous culture to which it was entitled, he could have emulated any of his contemporaries: "A youth," says Sir Robert, "who, by his own industry, had attained great knowledge of the plants and of medals." We may remark, in passing, that, in 1705, when Mr Sutherland probably died, the Faculty of Advocates purchased his excellent collection of Greek, Roman, Scotish, Saxon, and English coins and medals, where they still remain.

explaining their characteristic marks and virtues, to a numerous audience. In the month of May, and subsequent autumn, he delivered similar lectures; and determined to follow the same mode of teaching afterwards." Dr Pitcairn mentions him in terms of high commendation in his poems.

There can be no doubt that Mr Sutherland was much assisted in his work by Sibbald. It was published after he had had considerable experience as intendant of the garden; for he thus expresses himself, in his dedication to Sir George Drummond, Lord Provost of the city: "My Lord, I shall not here trouble you with any tedious account of the garden itself. It will sufficiently appear to your Lordship, and to all the world, by this catalogue, how well it is instructed: and I dare boldly say, comparing it with the catalogues of other gardens abroad, it runs up with most of them, either for number or variety of plants. It having been my business these seven years past, wherein I have had the honour to serve the city as intendant over the garden, to use all care and industry, by foreign correspondence, to acquire both seeds and plants from the Levant, Italy, Spain, France, Holland, England, East and West Indies; and, by many painful journies, in all the seasons of the year, to recover whatever this kingdom produceth of variety, and to cultivate and preserve all of them with all possible diligence. And of the truth of this I hope these worthy gentlemen who were named overseers to the garden will bear me witness." From this simple narrative, it appears that he had been intendant of the garden from the year 1676.* The confidence

* He was appointed upon 8th September 1676.—Counc. Regist. vol. xxviii. p. 182. The act respecting the garden at Trinity Hospital is dated 5th January 1677.—Ibid. p. 215.

with which he expresses himself respecting the additions that had been made to the collection, and the manner in which they had been obtained, perfectly correspond with Sir Robert's account, who, as has been mentioned, was appointed one of the overseers. Thus, a school for instruction in botany was the first of the medical classes which may be said to have been founded in Edinburgh. That improvement in medical practice was one chief design of Mr Sutherland's publication, cannot be doubted, because such plants as were used in medicine are differently marked in it from such as are annual or native to Scotland. The dispensatory plants were also arranged in alphabetical order in one part of the garden, that such who were only beginning the study of physic, might retain the botanic names more easily in their memory. Thus, Dr Sibbald must be considered as the founder of that noble collection, which now reflects such honour on the medical school of the university of Edinburgh.

The foundation of the Royal College of Physicians, though not intimately connected with the university, yet deserves to be mentioned, from the interest they are intitled to take, and have always taken, in promoting medical science. With Dr Sibbald, as we have seen, the plan originated; and he was the most active in accomplishing it. But, as has been already mentioned, he had also the peculiar honour of having been appointed the first professor of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, by the town-council, in

March 1685. Whether he delivered lectures regularly during the session of the college is not known, nor what was included in his course. He appears to have had no associate excepting Mr Sutherland. All that I know of his lectures is, that, in the year 1706, he informed the public, by advertisement, when the course was to commence; that it was to be delivered in Latin; and that none would be admitted but such as understood Latin and Greek.* From the manner in which this intimation was given, one is led to suppose that he did not teach publicly in the college, but communicated his instructions privately at his own house, which was then in Carrubber's Close.

Sibbald's chief coadjutor was Sir Andrew Balfour, doctor of medicine, who has been already mentioned. Their literary and scientific pursuits were similar; and they were both equally ardent in rendering every assistance in their power towards the dissemination of knowledge. Natural history, in all its branches,

* Edinburgh Courant, 14th February 1706.—" Quod Patriæ charissimæ, et in ea Philiatris, felix faustumque sit.

" Robertus Sibbaldus, M. D. eques auratus, Deo auspice historiam naturalem, et artem medicam, quam Dei gratia per annos quadraginta tres feliciter exercuit, docere in privatis collegiis incipiet; mensibus vernalibus hujus anni 1706.

" Monendos autem censet juvenes harum rerum curiosos, se non alios in album suum conscripturum quam qui callent linguas Latinam et Græcam, omnem philosophiam et Matheseos fundamenta; quod chirographis preceptorum testatum vult."

was their favourite study; and they had each collected a museum, upon what was then considered a large scale; and perhaps was really more extensive than any even in England, excepting the museum of the Royal Society. Dr Balfour had begun his collection before Dr Sibbald, and, so early as 1670, had made considerable progress. He first confined himself to botany; but, in a very short time, extended his plan, and admitted into his collection artificial as well as natural curiosities, together with whatever monuments of antiquity he could procure. He spent twenty-three years in pursuing his favourite object; and his affluence, his connexion with the great, the respect and esteem in which he was held by philosophers, both at home and abroad, and the liberality with which he recompensed those who offered any curiosities for sale, gave him advantages which few others possessed. It was formed upon a more extensive scale than that of Sir Robert Sibbald. The latter principally directed his attention to such natural curiosities as were indigenous, and were calculated to throw light upon the natural history of Scotland. They were both fond of antiquarian research; and were very successful in procuring what was connected with the national history and antiquities.

Dr Sibbald compiled a catalogue of his museum; and dedicated it to the magistrates and citizens of Edinburgh, as a testimony of his gratitude for the honours conferred upon him. Unlike the greater number of collectors, he, in his lifetime (in 1697),

presented it to the university of Edinburgh, under the modest title of "*Auctarium Musæi Balfouriani e Musæo Sibbaldiano*," as if it had only been an appendix to Dr Balfour's. He wished it to be considered as a brief introduction to natural history, by which young students might be conducted through the vestibule to a knowledge of that great treasure. The work was printed at the expence of the university, and contains 216 pages in 12mo. It is divided into four classes. I. Fossils; which are divided into minerals, stones, and metals; to which, on account of their affinity, marine substances are added in the first book. II. In the second class, the more rare vegetable substances taken from plants, their roots, bark, timber, and fruit; to which are subjoined marine plants. These form the subject of the second book. III. In the third book are enumerated the more rare productions from the animal kingdom, whether from man, quadrupeds, serpents, birds, or insects. IV. Works of art, connected with the various arts and sciences; to which are added manuscripts, and some scarce books, compose the fourth and last class. Both the Latin and vernacular names are added; and brief descriptions are given of such as had not been described by others.

Sir Robert Sibbald, whose benevolence was equal to his industry, bequeathed at the same time to the university the following pictures of eminent men. Their history is not distinctly known. The greater number appear to be executed in the same style; and,

what in a criticism of this kind ought certainly to be considered, the frames are all of the same manufacture, and evidently the work of the same artist. Charles I. and II. James VII. who, when Duke of York, was a great patron of Sibbald, and James Drummond, Earl of Perth, are among the number. The latter is only remarkable in this respect, that his lordship is represented in his robes as Chancellor of Scotland. This, to an antiquarian, must be considered as a curiosity. The only original picture of Drummond of Hawthornden which is known to exist, is in the same collection. There is also one of Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate, and the celebrated founder of the library of the Faculty of Advocates. Sir Robert must have attached considerable value to this picture, by presenting it to the college, because, in regard to execution, it is not nearly equal to that which is in the Advocates Library. Portraits of Buchanan and the two Boyds complete the whole.

The revolution of 1688, how beneficial soever to the nation in general, was the occasion of dissension in almost every incorporated body in the kingdom. We have already mentioned, that the principal and professor of divinity, and others, were deprived of their offices for non-compliance; and that, in the course of the defences given in by the accused, they had animadverted with great freedom upon Mr Andrew Massie, one of the regents, who had been in-

ducted so early as 1679;* and the political sentiments which he favoured, and it would appear he was not inclined to conceal, became the cause of a keenly contested lawsuit before the Court of Session, the supreme civil court in Scotland. Having been guilty of some acts of imprudence, he was suspended from his office, and Mr Herbert Kennedy appointed in his stead. This gentleman died 1698; upon which event, Mr Massie was restored to his office, in consequence of presenting the following petition: "Shewing, that where, through a misfortune, which he did heartily regret, he was stopped, and had been hindered for more than two years, from exercising his office and function as a regent and professor of philosophy within the college of Edinburgh; which stop and impediment being now happily removed, and a patent access made for his return, without the least wrong or occasion of complaint to any person that might have been otherways concerned; and he being desirous, as he ever had been, and shall be, to observe all duty to the council, and where he might plead right, much more inclined to prosecute the same by an humble application, than by other methods, which, though allowable, might yet appear less agreeable to that submission which he heartily owned and professed; craving, therefore, in consideration of the promises to give the orders necessary for reponing him to his foresaid place and office, and

* On 19th September.—Counc. Regist. vol. lxix. p. 135.

in that vacancy which, in providence, hath fallen out in such manner, as made this his reposition, which he had undoubted right to claim, more easy, both to the council and to him, and to all others concerned, as the petition bears."*

The confused situation, both of the political and ecclesiastical state of Scotland, from the commencement of the reformation to the revolution, is well known. The vicissitudes to which the university of Edinburgh was exposed constitute a striking illustration of the fact. Its destiny was more varied than that of any other of the sister universities. It was on the site of government; and the conduct of the patrons, the regents, and students, was narrowly watched by the party that happened to prevail at the time. This instability of affairs created great inconsistency in the regulations which had been made respecting the internal government of the college of Edinburgh. When there was every appearance of the government of William and Mary being stable, the Whig party of the Scotish nation began to gain confidence; and this feeling spread most sensibly among the magistrates of Edinburgh. They therefore resolved to institute an inquiry into the state of the college, and ascertain what acts had been passed by the town-council in regard to it, as is proved by the following minute.

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxvi.

Edinburgh, 29th June 1698.

"The committee anent the college affairs reported, That they finding themselves at a loss to know how far the council have regulated the affairs of the college, by their act made thereanent, ingrossed in the minutes of the affairs of the college; therefore, were of opinion the council ordain their clerk to make a transcript of the acts of council concerning the college affairs, and record the same in the book of the college minutes, that the council might have all these acts before them, or at their call, when occasion requires. As also, the said committee reported, That finding the sixth volume of Bleau's Atlas much embezzled, and several of the maps thereof torn, occasioned by the bibliothecarius lending the same out of the library, were therefore of opinion the council discharge him to lend any volume of that atlas out of the library to any persons whatsoever in time coming. And siclike, considering, when the late fire happened near the college, the bibliothecarius and the janitor were very much wanted to secure the bibliothec and the fabric of the college, in case of danger: To prevent which in time coming, the committee are of opinion the council appoint the bibliothecarius, or some discreet person for him, and the janitor and his servant, to lie in the college nightly, to be ready to prevent hazard on all occasions. And also, finding the rarities of the college were out of

order, and many of them like to perish for want of a fit person to oversee them: Therefore, were of opinion the council nominate a fit qualified person to take care of the rarities, and put them in order, and give a reasonable account of them to all persons. The council approved of the said report."*

The transcription of *all* the acts of council respecting the college was not put in execution at that time. An abridgment of them was compiled a few years afterwards,† for a particular purpose, as shall be specially mentioned in its proper place; and this is all that has been as yet done in this business. The fire alluded to was about the head of the College Wynd; and, from the narrowness of the lane between these buildings and the college, the library in particular was exposed to great danger. Neither the librarian nor the janitor were at this time accommodated with lodgings within the college; and, until Mr Henderson's death, which happened about 1741, the librarian never resided there. Upon his decease, and ever since, one of the professors has succeeded to, and done the duties of, his offices, whose residence, until the new buildings lately began, was within the college. The janitor, however, was on this occasion provided with a house; and to him the care of the buildings was more properly consigned. The *rarities* which belonged to the college had also been permitted to get into disorder. So that, even in Sir

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxvi. p. 124. † In 1703.

Robert Sibbald's lifetime, his own generous contributions, and those of Sir Andrew Balfour, had become of no real use to the university. It was not till 5th May 1699, that effectual steps were taken to preserve what had been collected with so much care, and at so great an expence; when Mr James Paterson was appointed by the town-council, with a salary of 100 pounds Scots, to take care of them, and take an inventory of what they contained.* The history of this collection affords a melancholy instance, how seldom the benevolent intentions of generous hearted men are regarded, or their love for the progress of science receives that homage to which their illustrious endeavours so well entitle the real benefactors of mankind. They were at length exposed to public inspection, without being given in charge to any person. The natural consequence of which was, that the most valuable were not to be found, and blame could be attached to no one.

Mr George Campbell, professor of divinity, who had long lamented the disadvantages under which his students laboured, for want of a proper collection of theological books, erected, with the concurrence of the patrons, the theological library, in 1698. His zeal was so great in accomplishing this laudable object, that, at his death, in 1701, that is, in a period of less than three years, it contained 287 folio, 359 quarto, and 350 octavo volumes.†

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxvi. p. 283. † Ibid. vol. xxxvii. p. 139.

We have now brought down the history of the University of Edinburgh to the year one thousand seven hundred. During the eventful period of the seventeenth century, Scotland partook in an equal, if not in a greater degree, than the sister kingdoms, of the various revolutions which then convulsed the British empire. Those revolutions were upon a great scale: They paralized the established theories of human knowledge; and affected every department of civilized society. The ecclesiastical, political, and philosophical institutions of a great nation, were exposed to the alternations which the possession and exertion of great talents and unruly passions generally create. The history of the University of Edinburgh affords a signal proof of the fluctuations in regard to public opinions which then prevailed, whose influence was not restrained within the bounds of any particular establishment. Among other mighty effects, they perplexed the internal economy, and materially injured the public prosperity, of our great national seminaries.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Charter granted to the University of Edinburgh by James VI. of Scotland.

Jacobus, Dei gratia, Rex Scotorum, omnibus probis hominibus totius terrae suae, clericis et laicis, salutem:

Sciatis, nos cum avisamento Dominorum nostri Secreti Concilii, quandam chartam et infeofamentum per nostram charissimam matrem, pro tempore regni nostri Reginam, post suam perfectam aetatem, cum avisamento et consensu Dominorum ejus Secreti Concilii, factum, datum et concessum dilectis nostris Praeposito, ballivis, consulibus et communitati burgi nostri de Edinburgh, et eorum successoribus, super donatione, dispositione et confirmatione, omnium et singularum terrarum, tenementorum, domorum, aedificiorum, ecclesiarum, capellaniarum, hortorum, pomoeriorum, croftarum, annuorum reddituum, fructuum, devoriarum, proficuorum, emolumentorum, firmarum, eleemosinarum, le Daill-silver, obituum et anniversariorum quorumcunque, quovismodo pertinuerunt, aut pertinere denoscuntur, ad quascunque capellanias, altaragia, praebendas, in

quacunque ecclesia, capella aut collegio, infra libertatem dicti burgi nostri de Edinburgh, fundata seu fundanda per quemcunque patronum, in quorum possessione capellani et praebendarii earum perprius fuerant; ubicunque praefatae domus, tenementa, aedificia, pomoeria, horti, annui redditus, anniversaria, fructus, proventus et emolumenta jacent, aut prius levata fuerunt, respective; cum manoribus, locis, hortis, pomariis, terris, annuis redditibus, emolumentis et devoriis, quibuscunque, quae Fratribus Dominicalibus, seu praedicatoribus et minoribus, seu Franciscanis, dicti burgi nostri de Edinburgh, perprius pertinuerunt.

Una cum omnibus et singulis terris, domibus, tenementis et hortis, jacentibus infra dictum nostrum burgum et libertatem ejusdem: cum omnibus annuis redditibus de quacunque domo, terris aut tenementis infra dictum nostrum burgum, levandis quibuscunque capellaniis, altaragiis, ecclesiis, mortuariis aut anniversariis, ubicunque sunt infra regnum nostrum Scotiae, donatis, dotatis et fundatis. Ac etiam cum omnibus et singulis annuis redditibus et aliis devoriis solitis, aut quae per quamcunque ecclesiam extra dictum nostrum burgum, a praeposito aut ballivis ejusdem de communi redditu ejusdem pro suffragiis celebrandis, cum pertinentiis: ac de omnibus aliis privilegiis, libertatibus et facultatibus in charta et infeofamento, donatione et dispositione praedictis, desuper consedis ad longum specificatis et contentis; tenendis de dicta charissima nostra matre et successoribus suis; de mandato nostro visam, lectam, inspectam et diligenter examinatam, sanam, integram, non rasam, non cancellatam, nec in aliqua sui parte suspectam, ad plenam intellexisse, sub hac forma:

"MARIA, Dei gratia, Regina Scotorum, omnibus probis hominibus totius terrae suae, clericis et laicis salutem:

"Sciatis, quia nos impensum munus nostrum erga Divinum Spiritum perpendentes, et pro ardenti zelo, quem ob inter te-

rendam politiam et aequabilem ordinem inter subditos nostros, praecipue vero infra burgum nostrum de Edinburgh, praeservandum habemus: Considerantes itaque, nos ex officio teneri, munus erga Deum complecti debere, cujus providentia reginam hujus regni promovimus, sic quae ex officio incumbere, omni honesto modo pro ministris verbi Dei providere; et ut hospitalia pauperibus mutilatis et miseris personis, orphanis, et parentibus destitutis infantibus, infra dictum nostrum burgum praeserventur. Post nostram perfectam aetatem, cum avisamento Dominorum Secreti Concilii nostri, dedimus, concessimus, disposuimus, ac pro nobis et successoribus nostris pro perpetuo confirmamus, praedilectis nostris praeposito, ballivis, consulibus, et communitati dicti nostri burgi de Edinburgh, et ipsorum successoribus in perpetuum, omnes et singulas terras, tenementa, domos, aedificia, ecclesias, capellas, hortos, pomoeria, croftas, annuos redditus, fructus, devoria, proficua, emolumenta, firmas, eleemosinas, le Daill-silver, obitus et anniversaria quaecunque, quae quovismodo pertinuerunt, aut pertinere denoscuntur, ad quascunque capellanias, altaragia, praebendarias, in quacunque ecclesia, capella aut collegio, infra libertatem dicti nostri burgi de Edinburgh, fundata seu fundanda, per quemcunque patronum, in quarum possessione, capellani aut praebendarii earundem perprius fuerant, ubicunque praefatae domus, tenementa, aedificia, pomoeria, horti, annui redditus, anniversaria, fructus, proventus et emolumenta jacent, aut prius levata fuerunt respective; cum maneriis, locis, pomoeriis, terris, annuis redditibus, emolumentis et devoriis quibuscunque, quae Fratribus Dominicalibus, seu praedicatoribus et minoribus, seu Franciscanis, dicti nostri burgi de Edinburgh, perprius pertinuerunt; una cum omnibus et singulis terris, domibus, tenementisque jacentibus infra dictum nostrum burgum et libertatem ejusdem, cum omnibus annuis redditibus, de quacunque domo, terris aut tenementis infra dictum nostrum burgum levandis, datis, fundatis, et donatis, quibuscunque capellanis,

ecclesiis, mortuariis, aut anniversariis, ubicunque sunt infra regnum nostrum Ac etiàm, cum omnibus et singulis annuis redditibus, et aliis devoriis solitis, aut quae per quamcunque ecclesiam extra dictum nostrum burgum, a praeposito, aut ballivis ejusdem, de communi redditu ejusdem, pro suffragiis celebrandis demandari poterit, cum pertinentiis.

Tenendas et habendas omnes et singulas praefatas terras, tenementa, domos, aedificia, pomoeria, hortos, croftas, annuos redditus, fructus, devoria, proficua, emolumenta, armas, eleemosinas, obitus, anniversaria, ecclesias, capellas, fratrum loca, hortos, cum pertinentiis, praefatis praeposito, ballivis, consulibus et communitati, et eorum successoribus, de nobis et successoribus nostris, in perpetuum, prout eadem jacent in longitudine et latitudine, in domibus, aedeficiis, muris, mureniis, lignis, lapide et calce, cum libero introitu et exitu, &c. ac cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus, commoditatibus, proficuis, et asiamentis, ac justis suis pertinentiis quibuscunque, tam non nominatis quam nominatis, tam sub terra quam supra terram, ad praedictas terras, tenementa, domos, aedificia, pomoeria, hortos, croftas, annuos redditus, fructus, devoria, et alia praescripta, cum pertinentiis spectantibus, seu juste spectare valentibus, quomodo libet in futurum, libere, quiete, plenarie, integre, honorifice, bene et in pace, absque revocatione aut contradictione quacunque; cum potestate memoratis praeposito, ballivis, consulibus et communitati, et ipsorum successoribus, per seipsos et ipsorum collectores, quos constituent praefatos annuos redditus, fructus, devoria, proficua, emolumenta quaecunque, levandi et recipiendi, ubicunque perprius levata fuerunt; praefati terras et tenementa locandi et removendi, loca diruta extruendi et reparandi, eademque in hospitalia, aut alios similes usus legitimos, prout ipsis, cum avisamento ministrorum et seniorum dicti nostri burgi videbitur, reducendi et applicandi, adeo libere in omnibus, sicuti praefati praebendarii, capellani et fratres praescripti eisdem perprius gaudere, easdemque possidere potuis-

sent: memorati autem praepositus, ballivi, consules et eorum successores, tenebuntur ac restricti erunt, ministros, lectores, et alia ecclesiastica onera, praefatis annuis redditibus, proficuis et devoriis, secundum valorem et quantitatem eorundem, sustinere, loca et aedificia reparanda, in hospitalitatem et alios usus praescriptos applicare.

" Considerantes itaque quanta fraude, ingens numerus dictorum praebendariorum, capellanorum et fratrum praescriptorum, qui pos[illegible]ltercationem religionis, terras, annuos redditus et emolumenta ipsorum capellanis, praebendis et aliis locis respective perpetuis mortificata, disposuerunt, alienarunt, et in manibus quorundam particularium virorum extra donarunt: ac etiamque legii nostri quarundam terrarum, tenementorum et annuorum reddituum, per ipsorum praedecessores mortificatorum, jus sibi acclamarunt, per brevia capellae nostrae, aut alias sasinam, tanquam haeredes suorum praedecessorum (qui easdem ecclesiae perprius dotarunt) recuperarunt; quod evenit, partim negligentia officiariorum dicti burgi nostri, et partim collusione dictorum praebendariorum, capellanorum fratrumque praescriptorum. Quocirca, cum avisamento praescripto, omnes et singulas hujusmodi alienationes, dispositiones et sasinas, quibus primum propositum et animi fundatorum infringitur, alteratur et variatur, deducendo easdem in particulares usus, ad effectum quo eaedem in usus suprascriptos converti poterint, per praesentes rescindimus et annullamus, quam quidem hanc nostram declarationem volumus tanti esse roboris et efficaciae, ac si personae quod easdem dispositiones obtinuerunt, particulariter citatae essent, ipsorumque infeofamenta absque ulteriori processu rescinderentur.

" Ac etiam, cum avisamento praescripto, unimus et incorporamus, omnes et singulas terras, tenementa, domus, aedificia, ecclesias, caemeteria, capellas, pomoeria, hortos, croftas, annuos redditus, fructus, devoria, proficua, emolumenta, firmas, eleemosinas, obitus, anniversaria, fratrum et loca eorundem,

cum suis pertinentiis, in unum corpus, in posterum appellandum, *Fundatio nostri Ministerii et Hospitalitatis de Edinburgh.*

" Volumus etiam, quod unica sasina per praefatos praepositum et ballivos, aut ipsorum aliquem dicti ministerii, et hospitalitatis nomine, apud praetorium dicti nostri burgi, semel accepta, tam sufficiens erit sasina perpetuo in futurum, ac si eadem super particulares terras, ad dictos capellanos, praebendarios, fratres, pertinentes, aut ipsos in praedictos annuos reditus, anniversaria, firmas, proficua et devoria praescripta debitas sumeretur, non obstante locorum distantia. Praeterea, per praesentes, nolumus capellanos, praebendarios et fratres (qui ante dictam alterationem proviso erant) per hoc praesens nostrum infeofamentum praejudicare, sed reservamus illis usum dictorum fructuum et devoriarum durante eorum vita tantum. Praecipiendo itaque nostrorum, computorum rotulatoribus, praesentibus et futuris, ipsorum collectoribus, factoribus et aliis quorum interest, in genere nec non in specie, quod neque eorum recipere aut levare praesumat dictos fructus particulariter supra scriptos, pro quovis tempore praeterito seu futuro, nec impediant aut impedimentum ullum faciant, memoratis praeposito, ballivis, consulibus, communitati et eorum successoribus, in pacifica possessione earundem: requirendo et ordinando etiam Dominos Sessionis nostrae, quatenus literas in omnibus quatuor formis ad instantiam dictorum praepositi, ballivorum, consulum, communitatis, et ipsorum successorum, ad effectum subscriptum dirigant. Nec non praecipiendo quibuscunque intromissoribus cum dictis fructibus quatenus ipsis de eisdem prompte intendant, pareant et gratiam solutionem facient.

" In cujus rei testimonium huic praesenti cartae nostri Magnum Sigillum nostrum apponi praecipimus, testibus Reverendissimo in Christo Patre, Joanne, Archiepiscopo Sancti Andreae, et dilectis nostris consanguineis, Georgio, Comite de

Huntley, Domino Gordoun et Badenoch, Cancellario nostro: Jacobo, Comite de Bothwell, Domino Haillis, Chrichtoun, et Liddisdale, regni nostri Magno Admirallo; dilectis nostris familiaribus consiliariis, Richardo Maitland de Lethingtoun, nostri Secreti Sigilli Custos; Jacobo Balfour de Pittindriech, nostrarum Rotulorum Registri ac Concilii Clerico; et Johanni Balladine de Auchnoule, nostrae Justiciariae Clerico, Equitibus Auratis. Apud Edinburgh, decimo tertio die mensis Martii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo sexto, et regni nostri vicesimo quinto."

Quamquidem cartam et infeofamentum in omnibus suis punctis et articulis, conditionibus et modis, ac circumstantiis suis quibuscunque, in omnibus et per omnia forma pariter et effectu ut praemissum est, approbamus, ratificamus, ac pro nobis et successoribus nostris pro perpetuo confirmamus.

Insuper, nos cum avisamento praedicto pro diversis rationalibus, causis bonis et considerationibus, nos moventibus, de novo, tenore praesentium, damus, concedimus et disponimus, praefato Praeposito, ballivis, consulibus, et communitati dicti burgi nostri de Edinburgh, et eorum successoribus, omnes et singulas praenominatas terras, tenementa, domus, aedificia, annuos redditus, capellas, locos, hortos, pomoeria, croftas, census, firmas, proficua, et emolumenta, et alia respective, et particulariter superius specificata; per ipsos in perpetuum applicanda in sustentationem ministerii, pauperum auxilium, reparationem scholarum, propagationem literarum et scientiarum pro eorum et successorum suorum arbitrio, uti eis magis utile videbitur. Quibus etiam pro nobis et successoribus nostris, plenariam ac liberam committimus potestatem quoscunque alios annuos redditus, annua proficua quaecunque, tam extra quam intra dictum nostrum burgum, quae in posterum per quoscunque bono zelo, ac libertate sua motos, ad alliamentum ministrorum evangelii, auxilium pauperum, ac sustentationem gym-

nasiorum, pro instaurandis scientiis et doctrina, donari et dotari contingerent, acceptandi: Quas etiam terras, annuos reditus et proficua supra scripta, perprius donata et fundata et in posterum donanda et fundanda ut promissum est; Nos, pro nobis et successoribus nostris, nunc prout extant, et tunc prout exinde, confirmamus, ratificamus, et admortizamus, et easdem adeo libere mortificamus, sicuti aliquae terrae, reddituus, tenementa et possessiones, ecclesiae ullo tempore praecedenti mortificatae fuerunt.

Praeterea, nos pro nobis et successoribus nostris, ratificamus, approbamus, et confirmamus renunciationem et dimissionem per familiarem servitorem nostrum, Joannem Gib, factam de omnibus jure ac titulo quae ipse virtute nostrae donationis praetendere posuit, ad praeposituram ecclesiae beatae Mariae de Campis, (vulgo *the Kirk of Field*), cum fructibus, terris, possessionibus, redditibus et devoriis ejusdem, praeteritis, praesentibus et futuris, in favorem dicti Praepositi, ballivorum, consulum, et communitatis, pro seipsis et eorum successoribus, ac nomine et ex parte ministerii et pauperum, ac privilegia et libertatem dicti nostri burgi nunc diversa extant, vasta et spatiosa loca quae praeposito, praebendariis, sacerdotibus et fratribus tempore praeterito pertinuerunt, maxime apta et commoda pro constructione domorum et aedificiorum ubi professores bonarum scientiarum et literarum, ac studentes earundem, remanere et suam diuturnam exercitationem habere potuerint; ultra et praeter alia loca convenientia pro hospitalitate.

Ideo, nos enixe cupientes, ut in honorem Dei et commune bonum nostri regni, literatura indies augeatur; volumus et concedimus, quod licebit praefatis Praeposito, consulibus et eorum successoribus, aedificare et reparare sufficientes domos et loca, pro receptione, habitatione et tractatione professorum, scholarum grammaticalium, humanitatis et linguarum, philosophiae, theologiae, medicinae, et jurium, aut quarumcunque aliarum scientiarum liberalium, quod declaramus nullam fore

rapturam praedictae mortificationis; ac etiam praefati Praepositus, ballivi et consules, ac eorum successores, cum avisamento tamen eorum ministrorum, pro perpetuo in postuerum plenam habeant libertatem, personas ad dictas professiones edocendas, maxime idoneas, uti magis convenienter poterint, elegendi, cum potestate imponendi et removendi ipsos sicuti expediverit; ac inhibendo omnibus aliis, ne dictas scientias intra dicti nostri burgi libertatem profiteantur aut doceant, nisi per praefatos Praepositum, ballivos et consules, eorumque successores admissi fuerint. Proviso, quod praesentes nullatenus praejudicabunt nec actoribus nec reis nec aliis interesse habentibus in ejectione et causa prosecuta penes decimas garbales de Dunibernie, Pottie et Moncrief, ad capellanos ecclesiae beatae Aegidae de Edinburgh pertinentes; neque juri patronatus ejusdem; sed quod utrisque parti, et omnibus interesse habentibus usque ad finalem exitum et decisionem in hujusmodi, ut congruit, prosequi et defendere liceat, praesentibus aut quibuscunque in eisdem contentis non obstantibus. Proviso etiam, quod ministri deservientes apud dictas ecclesias, pro praesenti et in futurum, sustinebuntur de promptioribus fructibus earundem, secundum ordinem desuper sumptum seu sumendum.

In cujus rei testimonium, huic praesenti chartae nostrae confirmationis Magnum Sigillum nostrum apponi praecipimus, testibus praedilectis nostris consanguineis et consiliariis, Esino, Lenociae Duce, Comite de Dernelie, Domino Fairboltoun, Dalkeith et Aubigny, &c. Magno regni nostri Camerario; Colino, Argatheliae Comite, Domino Campbel et Lorne, &c. Cancellario ac Justiciario nostro Generali; Reverendissimis et Venerabilibus in Christo Patribus, Patricio, Sancti Andreae Archiepiscopo; Roberto, Commendatorio Monasterii nostri de Dunfermling, nostro Secretario; dilectis nostris familiaribus et consiliariis, Alexandro Hay, nostrorum Rotulorum Registri ac Concilii Clerico; Ludovico Ballenden de Auchnoule, milite, nostrae Justiciariae Clerico; Roberto Scott, nostrae Cancellariae Directore; et Magistro Thoma Buquhanan de Ybert,

nostri Secreti Sigilli Custode: Apud castrum nostrum de Striviling, decimo quarto die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo octogesimo secundo, regni nostri anno decimo quinto.

No. II.

Extracted from the Register of the University of Edinburgh, 1644.

Ordo scholae grammaticae Edinensis, a pastoribus ecclesiae, primario academiae et magistro scholae, aliisque viris prudentia et doctrina claris, rogatu senatus post longam et maturam deliberationem praescriptus, et senatus authoritate confirmatus.

Sit curriculum quinque annorum, atque ad ordinem et numerum annorum sint classes et doctores quinque, scholarcha autem ipse quinti doctoris munere fungatur.

Prima Classis quae primi est anni et primi Doctoris.

Primi anni primis sex mensibus, simplicissima partium orationis rudimenta vernaculo sermone incipientibus proponenda sunt, ex iis discant expedite omnia nomina et verba inflectere: Pueris interim copia verborum comparanda est, earum rerum omnium quae in quotidiano usu versantur, et sensibus objiciuntur. Nihil in humano corpore inspiciatur, nihil in schola, nihil in supellectili domestico, nihil in mensa, nihil in coelo sensus quotidie moveat, quod non queant Latino nomine nominare.

Alteris sex mensibus (quotidie repetita aliqua primorum ru-

dimentorum portione) rudimenta syntaxeos simpliciora etiam vernaculo sermone discenda sunt, hoc tempore ediscendae breves quaedam sententiae, ad pietatem mores et vitam conducibiles, quas et interpretari, et quam maxime propriis verbis vernaculo sermone reddere assuescant. Hujus generis sententiae sunt, Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur; Alium silere quod voles, primis sile; Omnium rerum est vicissitudo; Quot homines tot sententiae; et consimiles, quarum sententiarum examinandae partes simplices ad prima rudimenta, partium syntaxis ad secunda.

Secunda Classis quae secundi est anni et secundi Doctoris.

Secundi anni primis sex mensibus (repetita quotidie aliqua parte rudimentorum) accuratior inflexionum methodus instituenda est ex prima parte Despauterii interpolata; hic omnium vocabulorum, exemplorumque non ita facilium Anglica interpretatio addenda est, quotidie interim praeligenda sunt Colloquia Corderii.

Alteris secundi anni sex mensibus doceatur quotidie syntaxis Erasmi suppletis regulis, si quae necessario deficiant, et repetitio matutina etymologiae nunquam est negligenda. Hoc etiam semestri pergant quantum possunt in Corderii Dialogis discendis, quibus succedant selectae Epistolae Ciceronis et Colloquia Erasmi Minora, hoc autem semestri assuescant Latine loqui, ita tamen at nihil efferre audeant, nisi vel ex praelectis authoribus, vel ex ore praeceptorum et doctorum. Ideoque danda est opera praeceptoribus, ut nihil ab ipsis discipuli audiant nisi Latine.

Tertia Classis quae est tertii anni et Doctoris tertii.

Tertio anno curriculo toto (quotidie repetita etymologiae et

syntaxeos portione aliqua) exerceantur in discendis authoribus, his nimirum, Ciceronis Epistolis, de Senectute, de Amicitia, Terentii Comaediis, et nonnullis elegiis Ovidii ex libro Tristium et de Ponto, Buchanani Psalmis heroico et elegiaco Carmine conscriptis. Ad regulas autem etymologiae et syntaxeos singula examinentur.

Hoc anno bis Septimanis singulis prelegatur (ex Epistolis Ciceronis tantum) thema vernaculum. Id ubi quisque pro virili Latine transtulerit et nitide descripserit, Paedonomo, examinandum tradat, estque Paedonomi officium in Themate examinando singulos audire (Caeteris cum silentio animadvertentibus) Themata sua distincte et clara voce legentes, videre ut singula recte scripta sint, et sicubi erratum est, omnibus audientibus corrigere; postremo verba ipsius authoris legere, ut ex eo singuli suas corrigant ineptias.

Quarta Classis quae quarti est anni et quarti Doctoris.

Primo mense quarti anni (repetitis quotidie repetendis) praelegatur Georgii Buchanani prosodia cum selectioribus quibusdam Despauterii Regulis, et Epigrammatis quibusdam Georgii Buchanani ex Epigrammatis autem istis, nec non ex poëtis superiore anno auditis sumenda erunt exempla singularum regularum prosodiae.

Reliquis quinque mensibus exerceantur in poësi et praxi regularum. Praelegatur interim Virgilius, Ovidii Metamorphosis, Horatius, Psalmi Buchanani: Bis etiam quaque Septimana, brevis sententia proponenda est, quae nonnihil salis habeat et acuminis, hanc carmine vertant, praesertim Heroico et Elegiaco, qui possunt etiam Lyrico, si qui ad poësin inepti sint eleganter transferant in orationem solutam.

Alteris sex quarti anni mensibus exerceantur in iisdem poëtis, nec non in Caesaris Commentariis et Ciceronis Opusculis ante dictis. Quotidie autem Vernaculum Thema transferant Latine,

Ciceronem, Caesarem, et Terentium, quam pressis possunt vestigiis insequentes. In Thematis Examinatione, omnes ejusdem ordinis cum silentio auscultent; ubi quidquam deflexerint ab orationis congruitate, continuo ad regulas revocandi sunt, ubi a puritate dictionis, exemplis ex Cicerone, Terentio, et Caesare, petitis Castigandi sunt.

Quinta Classis quae est quinti anni et quinti Doctoris.

Quinto Curriculi anno praelegenda primum rhetorica Talaei integra, cum majore parte compendii Rhetorices Georgii Cassandri et Apthonii Progymnasmatis, quibus decursis praelegendae sunt Orationes Ciceronis pro Marco Marcello, pro Archia Poëta, Catilinariae et Adversariae illae, quae Sallustii et Ciceronis nomine circumferuntur, decimus tertius liber Metamorphoseon xii. Ovidii, Orationes illae breves, quae sparsim inveniuntur apud Sallustium, Virgilium, Lucanum. In praelectionibus autem omnia ad regulas Rhetorum praelectas resolvenda sunt et exigenda; Singulis, etiam Septimanis, singuli componant Oratiunculas, singuli etiam singulis Mensibus declamando asssuescant elocutioni et pronunciationi.

In summa praeceptorum est plurima ex ante memoratis authoribus eo quo praescriptum est ordine praelegere, distincte et clara voce pronunciare, et cum discipulos alloquuntur, puro sermone uti: Ut ex ore, Gestu et pronunciatione Praeceptorum, discant Discipuli, tum dictionis puritatem tum rectam pronunciandi rationem.

1. Diebus Saturni Mane, in Octavam repetant totius Septimanae praelecta, ratio exigatur ab Octava.

2. Diebus Saturni, inter decimam et duodecimam vigeant Disputationes, multentur Victi, Victoribus Proemia proponantur.

3. Diebus Saturni a meridie praelegatur. Primae Classi, Catechesis Vernacula, caeteris eadem Latine.

4. Die Lunae Mane exigatur ratio Catecheseos die Saturni praelectae, et concionum auditarum Die Dominico; videndumque quid ex auditis, pro concione singuli observaverint.

Referatur ad Senatum de novis Rudimentis Vernaculi scribendis cum Vocabulis et Sententiis.

No. III.

Disciplina Academiae Edinburgenae Qua Continentur Professorum, Praeceptorum, Discipulorum et servorum officia, prout observata sunt multis et retro annis.

Primi Anni Ordo.

Ineunte Octobri, Novitii in Disciplinam Academicam traditi, exercentur in Latinis authoribus, praesertim Cicerone, et in Versionibus e Vernaculo sermone in Latinam, et e Latino in Vernaculum; Versionesque Regens Examinat ad Etymologiam, Syntaxin et Orthographiam, usque dum a primario Commune Thema tradatur et examinetur.

Examinato Communi Themate, continuo praelegitur Graeca Clenardi Grammatica, in qua ubi ad Annotationes in Nomina ventum fuerit, cum grammatica jungitur regularium praxis ex aliqua portiuncula Novi Testamenti, deinde praeleguntur prima et secunda Oratio Isocratis, nec non una aut duae aliae ejusdem Authoris, et ex poëtis Phocilides, primus Liber Hesiodi, cum Libris nonnullis Homeri.

Circa medium Maium praelegitur Rami Dialectica, et cum Dialectica, Themata quaedam Latina praeleguntur quae vertant Graece et quaedam Graeca quae vertant Latine.

Quae principio audiunt e Novo Testamento, primam Orationem Isocratis et Phociliden vel primum Librum Hesiodi Memoriae commendant, et quae illa Septimana audita sunt, diebus Saturni mane clara voce audiente praeceptore repetunt; eodem die inter decimam et duodecimam disputant.—Die Dominico mane praelegitur Catechesis.

Secundi Anni Ordo.

Ab initio Octobris exercentur in iis repetendis quae superiore anno praelecta sunt, et prope finem Octobris examinantur de iisdem.

Examinationibus peractis, exercentur in Thematis et Versionibus usque dum Graecum Thema praelegatur, quod praelegi solet postridie illius diei, quo Thema Commune datur.

Post Graecum Thema praelegitur Rhetorica Talaei cum Cassandro vel consimili, una cum Progymnasmatis Apthonii. Postea Oratiunculas conficiunt ad exercitium styli in Dialectica et Rhetorica.

Ineunte Januario praelegi incipit Organon Aristotelis, initio facto a Porphyrii Isagoge, et eo anno praeleguntur Libri Categoriarum de interpretatione priorum Analyticon, Topicon primus, secundus octavus, et duo Elenchon.

In fine anni arithmeticae compendium docentur.

Diebus Saturni de Thesibus Logicis in privatis scholis disputant. Maii autem primo Saturni die ad horam tertiam pomeridianam Orationes publice habere incipiunt. Et singuli quidem statis diebus usque ad anni finem donec omnes declamaverint. Die Dominico mane pergit regens in Catechesi explananda.

Ordo Tertiae Classis.

In principio tertii anni repetunt, superiore anno, praelecta, usque ad examinationes,—Post examinationes praelegit discipulis regens grammaticam Hebraeam, eosque exercet in Analysi Dialectica et Rhetorica, in quibus visum est authoribus, usque dum a primario publicum fiat facultatis eorum in Analysi examen; quod quidem fieri solet postridie illius diei quo Graecum Thema datur et examinatur.

Periculo facto ana yseos, pergit Regens in Logicis, et discipulis praelegit duos libros posteriorum breve compendium tradit.

In fine anni Anatomia Humani Corporis describitur; die Saturni in privatis scholis disputant de Thesibus quarum materiam ex auditis praescribit regens.

Die Dominico praelegitur locus aliquis communis Theologiae.

Ordo Quartae Classis.

Quarto anno ineunte post Ferias repetuntur omnia prius audita, donec duae inferiores classes examinatae fuerint.

Examinationibus finitis aggrediuntur Libros de coelo, docetque regens primum maximam partem secundi et quarti, quibus absolutis praelegitur sphaera Johannis de Sacrobosco, cum nonnullis theoriis planetarum ad quartum caput, nec non insigniores constellationes ostenduntur in libro, in globo coelesti, et in coelo.

Deinde docentur libri de ortu accurate et de meteoris, quantum sufficit, exinde docentur tres libri de anima.

Ineunte Maio incipiunt omnia audita in dialectica et philosophia repetere.

Tempore repetitionum praelegitur Hunteri cosmographia, et subinde exercentur disputando, praesertim de Thesibus, quas publice in comitiis proposituri sunt.

Diebus Dominicis mane in communibus locis Theologicis et in maxime necessariis controversiis exercentur.

Baccalaurei postquam tertio anno audierint quatuor priora capita primi libri de demonstratione, conveniunt in candidatorum schola hora quinta.

Vespertina, ibique cum candidatis disputant, et quisque cum Magistrando aliquo committitur antagonista, a regentibus delectu facto; materiam autem regentes praescribunt, et sic in sextam se exercent.

Consimiliter diebus Saturni a decima in publicis scholis disputant ordines tres superiores, magistrandi primo Theses ponunt, dein Baccalaurei, tertio Semibaccalaurei et sic per vices in circulo. Inchoantur autem hae publicae disputationes quam primum Semibaccalaurei edidicerunt Porphyrii Isagogen, unde etiam disputationis materia sumitur: Hae vero disputationes ad Tempus Examinationis Magistrandorum continuantur.

Ordo Examinationum.

Examinatur prima classis a tribus regentibus quorum unus prosam, alter poësin, tertius dialecticam examinat, nec tantum in praelectis fieri solet periculum, sed et in iis quae quisque proprio et privato studio addiderit.

Secunda classis similiter a tribus regentibus de superiore anno auditis examinatur; primus examinator in Isagoge, Porphyrii, et Categoriis de singulis periculum facit, secundus in libro de interpretatione et prioribus analyticis, tertius in topicis et elenchis sophisticis.

Examine horum peracto, suprema classis examen subit de omnibus prius auditis in Aristotele, tribus inferiorum classium regentibus singulis singulos tentantibus. Hoc ordine; prima vice, primus regens periculum facit in communi parte logicae, secundus in analyticis posterioribus, tertius in topicis et sophisticis captionibus; secunda vice, primus regens periculum facit

in libris duobus physicae Acroaseos, secundus in reliquis tribus, tertius in ethicis. In fine anni ante laureationem denuo examinantur a quatuor regentibus Humaniorum literarum regente juncto tribus superioribus et singuli ex quatuor regentibus, singulos duabus vicibus examinant. Prima vice primus quatuor regentium examinat de communi parte logices, secundus de demonstratione, tertius de topicis et Sophisticis Elenchis, quartus de ethicis. Secunda vice, primus examinat de communi parte physicorum, secundus de libris coeli et sphaeri, tertius de ortu, de meteoris, et quartus de anima.

Ante candidatorum examinationes praemonetur a primario senatus urbis, ut mittant cum rectore viros graves qui cum primario exigant a singulis examinatoribus juramentum de fideli administratione quod προσωπολημψίας singulis meritum gradum honoris praescripturi sint in publicis comitiis laureationis, et candidatos juramento astringant, ut contenti sint singuli eo gradu et loco qui cuique assignabitur a primario et examinatoribus; idque ea lege ut qui morose et proterve se gesserit et animi impotentiam ostenderit in publicis comitiis, continuo explodatur nec laurea donetur.

Regentium et Hebdomadarii Officia.

Regentes ubi se et discipulos suos domino supplices mane commendarint, praelegunt singuli praelegenda. Deinde curant ut discipuli in decuriis quique suis de praelectis conferunt.

Si non satis mane praelectum sit, hora decima pergunt, reliquo tempore discipuli in decuriis suis conferunt vel disputant.

A meridie attendant discipulis, ut conferant vel disputent in quartam, deinde examinant in sextam; at diebus recreationi et lusui condictis egrediuntur. Discipuli ad campos hora secunda, revertuntur quarta et inde ad sextam examinantur. Aestate vero conferunt de praelectis in tertiam, a tertia in quartam a regente examinantur, deinde a quarto in sextam in campis se exercent.

Diebus Saturni regentes singuli in suis classibus attendunt disputationes, Hieme a Septima Matutina, Æstate a sexta in Nonam; similiter ante meridiem a decima in duodecimam.

At in disputationibus publicis trium classium, regentes in publicis scholis disputationes moderantur, quisque per vices. A meridie docetur vel disputatur prout commodum regenti visum est, et ut statuta ferunt academiae.

Die Dominico privatis lectionibus finitis ad secundum pulsum eunt in Templum, quatuor regentibus praeeuntibus et sequente hebdomadario; dimissa concione a meridie redeunt ordine ad scholas suas ubi a regente exigitur ratio utriusque concionis et matutinae lectionis.

Missione facta ad horam quintam regentes conveniunt in hebdomadarii cubiculo, ut narrent singuli, quid ατακτιας viderint septimana praecedente, ut mature corrigi possit et ut se mutuo ad officium exacuant provideantque omnibus modis discipulos ab ατακτια retrahere, et ad pietatem et studia bonarum literarum provocare.

Quisque per vices hebdomadarii munere fungitur, est autem hebdomadarii munus.

1. Ubi publice convenitur attendere ne quid sit turbae aut tumultus, similiter in dismissione, ut ordine et sine turbâ egrediantur.

2. Singulis conveniendi horis statim a signo dato classes invisere, et id operam dare, ut singuli sese alacriter ad studia componant.

3. Diebus feriatis studiosos comitari ad campos in campis expectare et Gregem discipulorum, reducere ubi ad scholas redeundum est, et nomina absentium in singulis classibus a censore notata suis praeceptoribus dare.

4. Publicis lectionibus, ubi omnes discipuli adesse debent interesse et si quis male se gesserit observare et deferre.

5. Diebus Dominicis hora quinta ad se regentes vocare, ad

eos referre, quid observarit vitii in aliqua classe vel discipulo, ut a praeceptore corrigi queat, et si primario opera opusfuerit, ei significare, ut mutuo omnium praeceptorum consilio damnum quod exemplo dari possit academiae mature resarciri queat.

6. Item in dismissione academiae. Preces absente Primario celebrare: Regentibus incumbit ut semper officio intenti sint, praesertim ne quis absit tempore publicarum precum, a publica oratione et ordinis publica exactione. Ne quis absit ab academia diem unum nisi venia a primario impetrata, et nequis absit duos dies nisi facultate concessa a senatu urbis, utque tempore absentiae de classe provideatur ut attendi possit et doceri. Cautum etiam est ne quis regens curet discipulos suos in absentia aut praesentia sua instituendos per aliquem, qui de libro iis notas legat. Videndum etiam omnibus regentibus, ut se reverenter et cum omni observantia gerant erga Primarium, quippe qui iis a senatu praepositus sit.

Ordo Classis Humaniorum Literarum.

In hac classe docentur classici authores, historici, oratores, poëtae. Transferunt themata e Latino in vernaculum, et e vernaculo in Latinum sermonem. In versibus etiam exercentur nonnunquam. Mane repetunt pensum grammatices; nec non praelegi solet rhetorica Talaei tum ob praecepta, tum ob illustria exempla.

Facta missione academiae, et laureatis candidatis, nonnihil praelibant de Graecis, ut declinare et conjugare discant, et sic exercentur in Septembris mensem.

Diebus Dominicis discunt Catechesin.

Die Saturni praelegitur nonnihil ex Psalmis Buchanani, et praelectorum ratio redditur die Lunae mane.

Exactis Feriis reversi examinantur a regentibus tum in iis, quae praelecta sunt, tum in iis quae proprio studio addide-

Tempus Conveniendi post Ferias.

Post Ferias reditur ad academiam ineunte Octobre.

Officium Primarii.

Primarii est transactis Feriis regentes ad se vocare ut nulla interposita mora, redeunt ad officium et curam, ut omnium consiliis et calculis deliberetur, quid maxime e re sit academiae, quid renovandum, quid praeterea statuendum ad ordinem et disciplinam academiae conservandam.

Ejus etiam est non tantum statim a Feriis sed et quandocunque opus erit regentes advocare, ut mutuo consilio vel collapsa restituantur, vel nova instituantur ad meliorem academiae disciplinam.

Ejus etiam est beneficiarios, janitorum et omnes academiae ordines officii admonere.

Academiae intendere, videre ut sedulo exerceantur discipuli, et scholas ubi opus est invisere.

Si quis discipulorum pertinaciae aut rebellionis reus fuerit in praeceptorem, primarii est ita eum corrigere et castigare, ut alii ad reverentiam et obedientiam instituantur.

Gravia et scandalosa peccata in publicis scholis coram regentibus et toto discipulorum grege punienda curare debet.

In publico omnium congressu hora sexta, vel aestate hora quarta vespertina, celebrat publice primarius preces.

Quarto die hebdomadis qui dies Mercurii dicitur, hora tertia pomeridiana, dato signo conveniunt discipuli in communem aulam; ibi post sacram lectionem, qua instituuntur ad pietatis officia discipuli, examinantur censores de ordine in singulis classibus et

á singulis discipulis observato superiore hebdomade, quemadmodum in censorum officio describendo supra dictum est, et novi constituuntur censores.

Curet insuper primarius intrantes, matriculandos et in matriculatione vovebunt singuli obedientiam disciplinae academicae et singulis praeceptoribus.

Professoris Theologiae Officium.

Professor theologiae doceat studiosos methodum discendi theologiam, quid primo, quid deinde legant, in quibus potissimum se exerceant.

Die Martis et Veneris inter undecimam et duodecimam pub. lice docebit.

Die Lunae intererit exercitio vernaculo studiosorum theologiae.

Diebus Jovis singulis curabit ut unus studiosorum privatim Latine in aliquo themate theologico periculum faciat, tum docendo, tum theses sustinendo, ipso interim professore disputationes moderante.

Professori etiam incumbit singulis septimanis aliquid in Hebraea lingua praelegere.

Discipulorum Officia.

Diebus Dominicis ab hora septima matutina, singuli in propriis scholis lectiones sacras audiunto ad secundum campanae pulsum, qua decet modestia et gravitate templum adeunto; ibi precibus Psalmodiis et sacris sermonibus audiendis cum omni reverentia operam navanto, et dimissa post meridiem concione, omnes cum regentibus, ut matutinae lectionis et publicarum concionum rationem reddant, ad academiam ordine redeunto.

Die Mercurii hora tertia pro meridiano signo dato summa cum modestia et gravitate in publicum auditorium ad sacram

lectionem excipiendam, et ordinis rationem reddendam omnes conveniunto.

Sic ad preces publicas convenientes strepitu et tumultu procul habitis, omnes conveniente modestia utuntor.

Mane ut scholas quisque ingressus fuerit, supplex Deum adorato, nec quisquam studia aggreditor, nisi gratia et auxilio divino privatim prius imploratis.

Hyeme ad sextam aestate ad quintam horam matutinam omnes in suis scholis adsunto, ibi in nonam lectiones audiunto, calamo excipiunto, cum sociis per factiones a praeceptore constitutis conferunto et praelecta repetunto.

Die Saturni a tertia pomeridiana a scholis ferlari licet, et die Martis ac Jovis a meridie in quartam hyeme, at a quarta in aestate; nec alias nisi cum praeceptoribus visum fuerit feriantor, idque ad animi relaxationem et corporis valetudinis ergo exercitationem, at nemo interim in plateis obambulato, aut otiosus in triviis aut angiportis spectator stato, nec quisquam quovis tempore gurgustia, cauponas aut tabernas intrato.

Die Saturni Singulae Classes tempore matutino in propriis Scholis disputanto.

Ineunte Februario in primum Julii Magistrandi cum Baccalaureis in Magistrandorum schola disputanto, et antagonistae a regentibus delecti per vices noctuatim a quinta in sextam vespertinam proponunto.

A medio Januario in secundum diem Saturni Julianum tres studiosorum philosophiae classes in publico auditorio de thesibus a singulis classibus per vices propositi publici in trium regentium per vices moderantium praesentia disputanto ab hora decima in duodecimam die Saturni: At reliqua classis singulis Saturni diebus in suis scholis repetunto lectiones et praelectiones audiunto.

Praeter libros quotidianis praelectionibus [illegible]
Testamentum Latinum, Catechesin et Psalmos nemo non habeto.

Impie, injuriose, obscoene facere vel [illegible]

esto: ideoque qui Sacro-sanctum Dei nomen temerant qui diras effundant execrationes, qui putres et obscoenos sermones effutiunt severe castigantor.

Erga praeceptores singulos singuli reverenter se gerunto, eorumque monitis submisse obediunto.

Sermo ubique omnium Latinus esto, idemque pudicus, castus, verecundus, liberalis non contentiosus; sed pius et honestus; nec de aliis rebus quam de piis et honestis.

Sit sedulus et laboriosus in suis quisque studiis; nemo aliorum studia interpellet: Nemo scholas aut cubicula aliorum ingrediatur; nec quisquam curiosus (exceptis censoribus) ab aliorum Januis auscultet.

Nemo ab academia nisi bona cum praeceptoris venia absit; nec quisquam nisi a praeceptore concessa facultate academiam egrediatur.

Absque venia regentes, aut, eo forte absente censoris nemo scholae suae limen audeat excedere: Quique venia concessa fuerit egressus statim revertatur; nec quisquam quovis unquam praetextu sit emansor.

Unusquisque pietatis, probitatis, modestiae, et sedulitatis in studiis, prout Christi discipulos oportet, se sistat sociis exemplar.

Nemo, facto, verbo, vel gestu, alterum lacessat.

Nec quisquam alterum injuria aut contumelia afficiat.

Rixae, convitia, probraque omnia, ab omnibus procul absunto.

Unusquisque socium vel cessantem vel contra officium quippiam molientem, amice ac fraterne prout Christianum decet admoneto, et si admonitus non resipiscat notato ac defertor.

Nemo contumelia aut injuria affectus vel verbo vel facto seipsum vindicato; sed de offensa vel apud primarium vel delinquentis regentem conqueritor.

Nemo irreverenter praetereat, alloquatur aut adspiciat eos qui reverentia digni sunt; ut Magistratus, ut verbi Ministros, ut senes, ut Homines doctrina, virtute vel authoritate claros.

Nemo in publico se gerat nisi graviter, modeste ac verecunde, ut decet bonarum artium studiosos.

Malorum consuetudinem et familiaritatem omnes ut pestem fugiunto.

Nemo gladium aut pugionem gestato.

Nemo vesperi in Plataeis obambulato.

Extra secessum recrementis excipiendis destinatum nemo vel alvi faeces deponito, vel urinam reddito.

Fenestras Vitreas, Parietes, Scamna, Sedilia, Pulpita, aut aliud quicquam intra Academiae Septa seu pomeria nequisquam rumpito, labefactato, aut quovis modo violato; sed munda omnia et sarta tecta conservantor.

Censores in officio suo fideles sunto, Delinquentes admonento deferuntor.

Qui in quoquam deliquerit pro delicti natura castigabitur.

Qui Rebellionis aut Seditionis authores, quique flagitii insignis rei peracti fuerint, ex Academia cum nota,—Explodentur et Ejiciantur.

Beneficiariorum Officia.

Beneficiariorum est signum pulsu tintinabuli dare horis statis, et gradus quibus ad scholas ascenditur,—sarculo et Scopis a Sordibus et Pulvere purgare. Horae conveniendi sunt sexta matutina Hyeme, Aestate quinta ab initio Maii, ad tempus feriarum: Hora decima, et Sesquiprima: Quibus Horis Beneficiariorum est. Signum dare, eorumque bini singulis septimanis hisce officiis intendere jubentur.

Janitoris Officium.

Janitoris est continuo ad Januam attendere; Scholas statis horis reserare et claudere: Portam Academiae hora decima Vespertina claudere et mane tempestive recludere.

Candelis et Laternis porticum et utramque pergulam inferiorem et superiorem illuminare.

Ter singulis septimanis, scholas verrere, aream mundam servare;

Providere ne quid de fabrica labefactetur: Et si quid labefactatum aut ruptum fuerit, continuo Primario et Regentibus significare, ut mature reparari possit, et eorum vel impensis vel poenis qui rei deprehensi fuerint.

Leges quibus tenentur singuli discipuli publice examinandi post reditum a Feriis.

1. Ut ea reverentia et modestia se gerant erga reverendissimum dominum primarium et regentes, omnes quae liberali, ingenuorum adolescentum institutione digna sit.

2. Ut singulis conventibus ad horam praescriptam adsint, alioquin serum ingressum semisse; totalem ab uno aliquo conventu absentiam binis assibus Scoticanis proximo conventu sine mora luituri.

3. Ut singulis conventibus habeant singuli apud se libros omnes ex quibus aliquid didicerint: Delictum hac ex parte binis assibus toties quoties redempturi in singulis libris desideratis.

4. Qui non impetrata a domino examinatore praesertim venia egredi ausus fuerit, morosam illam audaciam esse luat.

5. Pariter multetur qui ultra horae quadrantem etiam venia impetrata emanserit.

6. Semisse mulctetur garrulitatis manifeste deprehensus toties quoties; ut et qui oscitanter audiens, nescit rationem reddere illius quod proxime dictum sit vel a domino examinatore vel a respondente.

7. Ut ex classe magistrandorum nemo ad examen laureae praevium admittatur, absque proprii regentis syngrapha; et nemo nisi examinatus a dominis regentibus Laurea vel privata vel publica donetur.

Discipulorum Leges nunc nuper Recognitae et poenis sancitae, 24. Januarii 1701.

1. Conventus academici fiant ineunte Octobri.

2. Tempore Hyberno discipuli omnes conveniant in privatis scholis ante septimam (octavam) matutinam; statim a precibus celebratis catalogus citetur, absentes notentur et regentis arbitrio multentur. Nemo igitur hoc tempore vel quovis alio scholis destinato, vel in area otiose ambulet, vel lusibus quibuscunque intersit; pilae scilicet: palmariae, mensae tudicularis, globulorum et istiusmodi; sub poena trium assium prima et secunda vice, tertia vero sex, singulis qui in his deliquerint tam scribentibus quam non scribentibus irroganda; Nemo professoribus docentibus in pergula superiore vel inferiore obambulato, pila palmaria ludito, aut calcibus fores insultando, insanosve clamores et strepitum ciendo. Literarum studia intus tractantibus negotium facessito: Qui secus fecerit petulantiam suam sex assibus Scoticanis toties quoties luito.

3. Diebus Dominicis conveniant singuli in scholis privatis statim a concione publica pomeridiana et in sacris exerceantur. Academiae, praefecto et professore aliquo theologiae de capitibus religionis Christianae concionem habituro; omnium classium studiosi a suis quibuscunque professoribus admoniti in auditorium conveniunto.

4. In singulis classibus censor describat duos catalogos et singulis nominibus locum residentiae ascribat, ut si quis et discipulis semet subduxerit, de eo ab hospite inquiratur; et horum catalogorum unus primario, alter regenti proprio tradatur.

5. Impie, injuriose, obscoene facere vel loqui, nemini impune esto; ideoque qui Sacro-sanctum Dei nomen temerant, qui diras effundunt execrationes, qui putres et obscoenos ser-

mones effutiunt, prima vice sex asses pendant, deinde vero severius castigentur.

6. Erga praeceptores singulos singuli reverenter se gerunto, eorumque monitis obediunto; Qui secus fecerint, prima vice asse, dein binis assibus multandi.

7. Sermo ubique omnium Latinus esto, idemque pudicus, castus, verecundus, liberalis, non contentiosus, sed pius et honestus, nec de aliis rebus quam piis et honestis: Qui hoc in genere peccant, praesertim si lingua vernacula intra academiae pomoeria loquantur; prima vice asse, dein binis assibus ad arbitrium multentur.

8. Sit sedulus et laboriosus in suis quisque studiis; Nemo aliorum studia interpellet; Nemo scholas aut cubicula aliorum ingrediatur, nec quisquam curiosus exceptis censoribus ab aliorum Januis aut Fenestris auscultet.

9. Nemo ab academia nisi bona cum praeceptoris venia absit; nec quisquam nisi a praeceptore concessa facultate ab academia discedat,

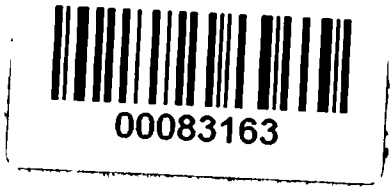
10. Absque venia regentis (professoris sui) aut eo forte absente censoris nemo scholae suae limen audeat excedere, quique venia concessa fuerit egressus statim revertatur. Nec quisquam quovis unquam praetextu sit emansor; Qui secus fecerit binis assibus multandis.

11. Unusquisque pietatis, probitatis modestiae et sedulitatis in studiis prout Christi discipulos oportet, se sistat, sociis exemplar.

12. Nemo, facto, verbo, vel gestu, alterum lacessat, nec quisquam alterum injuria aut contumelia afficiat, alioquin ad arbitrium plectendus.

13. Rixae, convicia, probraque omnia (ab omnibus) procul absunto.

14. Unusquisque socium vel cessantem, vel contra officium quidpiam molientem, amice et fraterne prout Christianum decet admoneto, et si admonitus non resipiscat notato ac deferto.


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